1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

of the air, to avert all danger from them; I have also seen the Chippeways, on the Lakes of Canada, pray to the Mannitto of the waters, that he might prevent the swells from rising too high, while they were passing over them. In both these instances, they expressed their acknowledgment, or shewed their willingness to be grateful, by throwing tobacco in the air, or strewing it on the waters.

There are even some animals, which though they are not considered as invested with power over them, yet are believed to be placed as guardians over their lives; and of course entitled to some notice and to some tokens of gratitude. Thus, when in the night, an owl is heard sounding its note, or calling to its mate, some person in the camp will rise, and taking some *Glicanican*, or Indian tobacco, will strew it on the fire, thinking that the ascending smoke will reach the bird, and that he will see that they are not unmindful of his services, and of his kindness to them and their ancestors. This custom originated from the following incident, which tradition has handed down to them.

It happened at one time, when they were engaged in a war with a distant and powerful nation, that a body of their warriors was in the camp, fast asleep, no kind of danger at that moment being apprehended. Suddenly, the great "Sentinel," over mankind, the *owl*, sounded the alarm; all the birds of the species were alert at their posts, all at once calling out, as if saying: "Up! up! Danger! Danger!" Obedient to their call, every man jumped up in an instant; when, to their surprise, they found that their enemy was in the very act of surrounding them, and they would all have been killed in their sleep, if the owl had not given them this timely warning.

But, amidst all these superstitious notions, the supreme Mannitto, the creator and preserver of heaven and earth, is the great object of their adoration. On him they rest their hopes, to him they address their prayers and make

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

mother's womb; some had foretold that he would be a boy, and others a girl; he had distinctly overheard their discourses, and could repeat correctly every thing that they had said. It would be too long to relate all the wild stories of the same kind which this otherwise intelligent Indian said of himself, with a tone and manner which indicated the most intimate conviction, and left no doubt in my mind that he did not mean to deceive others, but was himself deceived. 787

I have known several other Indians who firmly believed that they knew, by means of these visions, what was to become of them when they should die, how their souls were to retire from their bodies and take their abodes into those of infants yet unborn; in short, there is nothing so wild and so extraordinary that they will not imagine and to which, when once it has taken hold of their imagination, they will not give full credit. In this they are not a little aided by certain general superstitious notions which form a part of their traditionary belief, and of which I shall take notice in the next chapter. [775]

CHAPTER XXXIV.

INDIAN MYTHOLOGY.

THE Indians consider the earth as their universal mother. They believe that they were created within its bosom, where for a long time they had their abode, before they came to live on its surface. They say that the 773

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

•773 great, good, and all powerful Spirit, when he created them, undoubtedly meant at a proper time to put them in the enjoyment of all the good things which he had prepared for them upon the earth, but he wisely ordained that their first stage of existence should be within it, as the infant is formed and takes its first growth in the womb of its natural mother. This fabulous account of the creation of man needs only to be ascribed to the ancient Egyptians or to the Bramins of India, to be admired and extolled for the curious analogy which it observes between the general and individual creation; but as it comes from the American savage, I doubt whether it will even receive the humble praise of ingenuity, to which, however, it appears to me to be justly entitled.

The Indian Mythologists are not agreed as to the form under which they existed while in the bowels of the earth. Some assert that they lived there in the human shape, while others, with greater consistency, contend that their existence was in the form of certain terrestrial animals, such as the ground-hog, the rabbit, and the tortoise. This was their state of preparation, until they were permitted to come out and take their station on this island* as the Lords of the rest of the Creation.

Among the Delawares, those of the *Minsi*, or Wolf tribe, say that in the beginning, they dwelt in the earth under a lake, and were fortunately extricated from this unpleasant abode by the discovery which one of their men made of a hole, through which he ascended to the surface; on which, as he was walking, he found a deer, which he carried back with him into his subterraneous habitation; that there the deer was kill·d, and he and his companions found the meat so good, that they unanimously determined to leave their dark abode, and remove

•9[Radam. See cat. 116, p. 348. Aud'st]

* The Indians call the American continent an island; believing it to be (as in fact, probably, it is) entirely surrounded with water.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7
Iroquois NM9

to a place where they could enjoy the light of heaven and have such excellent game in abundance.

The other two tribes, the *Unamis* or Tortoise, and the *Unalachtigos* or Turkey, have much similar notions, but reject the story of the lake, which, seems peculiar to the Minsi tribe.

These notions must be very far extended among the Indians of North America generally, since we find that they prevail also among the Iroquois, a nation so opposed to the Delawares, as has been shewn in the former parts of this work, and whose language is so different from theirs, that not two words, perhaps, similar or even analogous of signification may be found alike in both. On this subject I beg leave to present an extract from the manuscript notes of the late Reverend Christopher Pyrlæus, whom I am always fond of quoting with respect, as he was a man of great truth, and besides well acquainted with the Six Nations and their idioms.* The account that he here gives of the traditions of that people concerning their original existence, was taken down by him in January 1743, from the mouth of a respectable Mohawk chief named *Sganarady*, who resided on the Mohawk river.

THE EXTRACT.

"*Traditio.*—That they had dwelt in the earth where "it was dark and where no sun did shine. That though "they followed hunting, they ate mice, which they caught "with their hands. That *Ganawagahha* (one of them) "having accidentally found a hole to get out of the earth

* Mr. Pyrlæus lived long among the Iroquois and was well acquainted with their language. He was instructed in the Mohawk dialect by the celebrated interpreter Conrad Weiser. He has left behind him some manuscript grammatical works on that idiom, one of them is entitled: *Affixa nominum et verborum Linguæ Macquaice*, and another; *Adjectiva, nomina et pronomina Linguæ Macquaicæ*. These MSS. are in the library of the Society of the United Brethren at Bethlehem.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7
Iroquois NM9

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773

"at, he went out, and that in walking about on the earth "he found a deer, which he took back with him, and "that both on account of the meat tasting so very good, "and the favourable description he had given them of the "country above and on the earth, their mother, conclu- "ded it best for them all to come out; that accordingly "they did so, and immediately set about planting corn, "&c. That, however, the *Nocharanorsul*, that is, the "*ground-hog*, would not come out, but had remained in "the ground as before."

So far Mr. Pyrlæus. From these traditions of the Iroquois, and those of the Delawares and Mohicans, it seems to follow, that they must have considered their numbers very small, when they dwelt in the earth; perhaps, no more than one family of each tribe, and that the custom of giving to their tribes the names of particular animals, must have been very ancient. The *ground-hog*, say the Mohawks, would not come out. But who was this hog? Might it not formerly have been the name of one of their tribes, who was made the subject of this fable?

D
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262
825

However ridiculous these stories are, the belief of the Indians in them is not to be shaken. When I was a boy between twelve and fifteen years of age, I had often heard of white people conversant with the Indians, who at that time would continually come to this place, (Bethlehem) in great numbers, even by hundreds, that the Indians did not eat rabbits, because they thought them infected with the venereal disease, and that whoever ate of their flesh, was sure to take that disorder. Being then myself fond of catching those animals in traps, I asked questions on this subject of several Mohican Indians, who spoke the German language; but though they said nothing about the disease that rabbits were said to be infected with, yet they advised me by no means to eat of their flesh. They gave me no reason whatever to induce me to abstain from

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

this food; but, afterwards, in the year 1768, when I resided at Tuscorawas on the Muskingum, I was told by some of them, that there were some animals which Indians did not eat, and among them were the *rabbit* and the *ground-hog*; for, said they, they did not know but that they might be *related* to them!

I found also that the Indians, for a similar reason, paid great respect to the rattle snake, whom they called their *grandfather*, and would on no account destroy him. One day, as I was walking with an elderly Indian on the banks of the Muskingum, I saw a large rattle-snake lying across the path, which I was going to kill. The Indian immediately forbade my doing so; for, said he, the rattle snake is grandfather to the Indians, and is placed here on purpose to guard us, and to give us notice of impending danger by his rattle, which is the same as if he were to tell us "look about!" Now, added he, if we were to kill one of those, the others would soon know it, and the whole race would rise upon us and bite us. I observed to him that the white people were not afraid of this; for they killed all the rattle snakes that they met with. On this he enquired whether any white man had been bitten by those animals, and of course I answered in the affirmative. "No wonder, then;" replied he, "you have to blame yourselves for that! you did as much "as declaring war against them, and you will find them "in your country, where they will not fail to make fre-"quent incursions. They are a very dangerous enemy; "take care you do not irritate them in *our* country; they "and their grandchildren are on good terms, and neither "will hurt the other."

These ancient notions have, however, in a great measure died away with the last generation, and the Indians at present kill their grandfather the rattle snake without ceremony, whenever they meet with him.

That the Indians, from the earliest times, considered themselves in a manner connected with certain ani-

l:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

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773

mals, is evident from various customs still preserved among them, and from the names of those animals which they have collectively, as well as individually, assumed. It might, indeed, be supposed that those animals' names which they have given to their several tribes were mere badges of distinction, or "coats of arms" as Pyrlæus calls them; but if we pay attention to the reasons which they give for those denominations, the idea of a supposed family connexion is easily discernible. The Tortoise, [619] or as it is commonly called, the *Turtle* tribe, among the Lenape, claims a superiority and ascendency over the others, because their *relation*, the great Tortoise, a fabled monster, the Atlas of their mythology, bears according to their traditions this great *island* on his back, and also because he is amphibious, and can live both on land and in the water, which neither of the heads of the other tribe can do. The merits of the *Turkey*, which gives its name to the second tribe, are that he is stationary, and always remains with or about them. As to the *Wolf*, after whom the third tribe is named, he is a rambler by nature, running from one place to another in quest of his prey; yet they consider him as their benefactor, as it was by his means that the Indians got out of the interior of the earth. It was he, they believe, who by the appointment of the Great Spirit, killed the deer whom the Monsey found who first discovered the way to the surface of the earth, and which allured them to come out of their damp and dark residence. For that reason, the wolf is to be honoured, and his name preserved for ever among them. Such are their traditions, as they were related to me by an old man of this tribe, more than fifty years ago.

825
773
532

These animals' names, it is true, they all use as national badges, in order to distinguish their tribes from each other at home and abroad. In this point of view Mr. Pyrlæus was right in considering them as "coats of arms." The Turtle warrior draws either with a coal or

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
NM7 Delaware NM7

paint here and there on the trees along the war path, the whole animals carrying a gun with the muzzle projecting forward, and if he leaves a mark at the place where he has made a stroke on his enemy, it will be the picture of a tortoise. Those of the Turkey tribe paint only one foot of a turkey, and the Wolf tribe, sometimes a wolf at large with one leg and foot raised up to serve as a hand, in which the animal also carries a gun with the muzzle forward. They, however, do not generally use the word "wolf," when speaking of their tribe, but call themselves *Punk-sit*,[2] which means *round-foot*, that animal having a round foot like a dog.

The Indians, in their hours of leisure, paint their different marks or badges on the doors of their respective houses, that those who pass by may know to which tribe the inhabitants belong. Those marks also serve them for signatures to treaties and other documents. They are as proud of their origin from the tortoise, the turkey, and the wolf, as the nobles of Europe are of their descent from the feudal barons of ancient times, and when children spring from intermarriages between different tribes, their genealogy is carefully preserved by tradition in the family, that they may know to which tribe they belong.

I have often reflected on the curious connexion which appears to subsist in the mind of an Indian between man and the brute creation, and found much matter in it for curious observation. Although they consider themselves superior to all other animals and are very proud of that superiority; although they believe that the beasts of the forest, the birds of the air, and the fishes of the waters, were created by the Almighty Being for the use of man; yet it seems as if they ascribe the difference between themselves and the brute kind, and the dominion which they have over them, more to their superior bodily strength and dexterity than to their immortal souls. All beings endowed by the Creator with the power of volition and self-motion, they view in a manner as a great society of

[2] [Erratum. See cat. 116, p. 348. - Rec'd 7st]

2;Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

Curing

Although most serious ailments were treated magically by shamans, there was a considerable body of knowledge concerning various herbs, roots, and decoctions of one sort or another that did have a beneficial medicinal value. It should also be noted that wounds and external injuries were successfully treated.[85] This practical medicinal knowledge was the property of both ordinary individuals and shamans. Many of the curative practices, both magical and otherwise, were directed at the spirits, rather than derived from a real knowledge of physiology and pathology. This, of course, did not decrease the beneficial (or harmful) effects of the various remedies.[86]

Roots, herbs, and bark, particularly oak, walnut, cherry, dogwood, maple, and birch, were used as medicines.[87] These materials were prepared and compounded in a number of ways, and the knowledge of them was a closely guarded secret, passed on to one's children only when the owner was at death's door.[88] This secrecy remains, and my informants refused to do more than hint at the nature of their medicines. Emetics, blood letting, and perhaps cupping were common remedies in the eighteenth century.[89] The most common medicinal practice was sweat bathing. Men used the village sweat bath more frequently than did the women, who had their own.[90] A sweat bath was taken by an individual when he was tired or had contracted a cold or did not feel well. Men usually took one or two a week; women took them less frequently. Occasionally, a shaman would take a sweat bath while his patient lay outside, and frequently various medicines were taken during or immediately after a sweat bath.[91]

Folklore

Knowledge of Delaware folklore is imperfect and incomplete. The purely secular tales are little known; however, I obtained a few in the field. The mythology dealing with supernatural beings is only slightly better known. R. C. Adams published a number of tales current in the late nineteenth century; none of the stories he related was told to me.[92] The earliest origin story was obtained by Dankers in the seventeenth century, who had directed some questions at an old man of the Hackinsack division of the Unami:

[85] Van der Donck, 1909, p. 301; Thomas, 1912, p. 340; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 15. Tantaquidgeon, 1942, described medical practices and materia medica of the Delawares. Mahr, 1951, has summarized the early data on Delaware herbalism and healing; Mahr, 1955, has studied nonesoteric herb lore.

[86] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 224.

[87] Pesa, 1882, p. 244; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 25; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 224; Lockenbach, 1938, p. 376; Tantaquidgeon, 1942, pp. 24-37.

[88] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 24; N.D.

[89] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 26; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 225.

[90] De Vries, 1909, pp. 217-18; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 26; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 226.

[91] Zeisberger, 1910, p. 26; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 225; O.A.

[92] Adams, 1905.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

● 773 He [the old man] took a piece of coal out of the fire where he sat, and began to write upon the floor. He first drew a circle, a little oval, to which he made four paws or feet, a head and a tail. "This," said he, "is a tortoise, lying in the water around it," and he moved his hand round the figure, continuing, "this was or is all water, and so at first was the world or the earth, when the tortoise gradually raised its round back up high, and the water ran off of it, and thus the earth became dry." He then took a little straw and placed it on end in the middle of the figure, and proceeded, "the earth was now dry, and there grew a tree in the middle of the earth, and the root of this tree sent forth a sprout beside it and there grew upon it a man, who was the first male. This man was then alone, and would have remained alone; but the tree bent over until its top touched the earth, and there shot therein another root, from which came forth another sprout, and there grew upon it the woman, and from these two are all men produced."[83]

A number of other writers have said that the turtle was responsible for the creation.[84] The Munsi, however, may have had a slightly different origin myth, as Heckewelder said:

> The *Minsi*... say that in the beginning, they dwelt in the earth under a lake, and were fortunately extricated from this unpleasant abode by the discovery which one of their men made of a hole, through which he ascended to the surface; on which, as he was walking, he found a deer, which he carried back with him into his subterraneous habitation; that there the deer was killed, and he and his companions found the meat so good, that they unanimously determined to leave their dark abode, and remove to a place where they could enjoy the light of heaven and have such excellent game in abundance.... The other two tribes... have much similar notions, but reject the story of the lake, which seems peculiar to the Minsi tribe.[85]

Harrington related a divergent tale which included a flood:

> Some time after Gicelamukaong [Great Spirit] had created the world it became flooded with water, and it seemed to be a difficult matter to find earth with which to commence a new one. The Great Spirit... began to send down the various water animals which still survived to try to bring earth up from the bottom, but one by one they failed, and floated up to the surface dead. At last the muskrat was sent, and he succeeded in bringing up a little dirt in his paws. This was placed on the back of a turtle, which, with the mud upon it, immediately began to increase in size, until the "great island upon which we live" was formed, round and flat, floating upon the waters.[86]

Several myths and tales were gathered from informants. These show many similarities to those of the Eastern and Central Algonkians,[87] but they may be late historic diffusions. Myths which were intended to be informative about supernatural subjects and also purely secular stories were told by the Delawares only during the winter and hence were called "winter tales" (J.T.). If myths were told out of season "the bugs

[83] Dankers, 1867, pp. 150-51.
[84] Zeisberger, 1910, pp. 131-33; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 250; Trowbridge MS; Brinton, 1885, p. 133.
[85] Heckewelder, 1881, p. 250.
[86] Harrington, 1913, pp. 232-37; M.B. related essentially the same myth.
[87] Fisher, 1946, pp. 226-62.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

would chase you" (M.B.) or "all the worms would take after you" (J.T.). Tales were told by old men and women, and talented story tellers were much in demand. They were paid for their services by the audience who promised before the tales began to perform some service or donate a gift. One person would say, "I'll kill a rabbit for her tomorrow, another would say, "I'll fetch wood for her tomorrow" (O.A.). The stories began about nine in the evening and lasted five or six hours. Trowbridge said in this connection: "And it is said that they will entertain each other a whole night with the ingenious story of a wolf, a raccoon, or of some great hunter, whose deeds have been handed down by their traditions."[88] The audience lay around the fire in the house during the story telling, but the little children could not fall asleep unnoticed, for during the course of many of the stories the audience had to reply to the storyteller in chorus (O.A., M.B.).

Thunder Myths

Stories about thunder deities are common, and several were obtained. M.B. and F.W. both told the following tale, but F.W.'s is used since M.B.'s suffered in translation.[89]

An old woman and her six-year-old grandson lived together. The boy just played around camp with his bows and arrows. He wasn't anything but a little boy. At this time there was a drought, it was hot and dry, the creeks were dry and the crops had burned up. His grandmother was beginning to get after him for being such a worthless little boy.

One day as his grandma was berating him he looked up and said, "I can make it rain." His grandmother replied, "You can't do nothin'." And the other people just laughed at the little boy too. The boy said he was going off and "hope" four times for rain. The boy went off and soon a cloud came up. Soon it was thundering, the lightning flashed, and it started to rain.

The grandmother was in her wigwam bailing out the water when the little boy returned. He said, "I told you it was going to rain." Lightning was still striking every minute.

Then the boy told his grandmother, "I'm going with my friends, but someday I'll come back, although I won't be able to stay. When you hear the lightning cracking around you think of me 'cause it's me."

The old people say that the sharp cracking of thunder is the little boy playing, and that the heavy, rumbling thunder is the old thunder birds.

All the thunder birds live by making soup out of old bones, bones so old "they have holes in them" (J.T.). When the clouds were low or when it was misty, the birds could jump down out of them to earth. The informant J. T. told the following story:

There once was a man who said he could go and live with the thunders. The people asked him how he could go 'cause he didn't have no wings. He said he knew a way and named a day when the people could watch him.

[88] Trowbridge MS.

[89] All myths and tales are given as nearly as possible in the informants' words.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

●773 The day came, he had a big round rock, "as big as this table" (ordinary enameled kitchen table), and he built a fire on top of this rock on a bluff overlooking a creek. He heated the rock until it was almost red hot, then he pushed it over the bluff into the water. The water was heated and began to steam. The man stepped into the steam and disappeared. He later returned from the sky. (J.T.)

Great Horned Serpent Myths

Water monsters and snakes have their place in Delaware mythology. People are usually protected from these monsters, or are allowed to destroy them, through the agency of the Sun or the Thunder Gods:

While out hunting a man heard the call of a turkey near a large lake. People had been accustomed to get water from this lake, but nevertheless a monster snake lived there. The unwary hunter was attracted to the lake by what he thought was the call of the turkey, but it was the water monster. The monster killed him by drowning, and then ate him. Two or three other people were caught in the same way by this snake.

Several men got together who had power. One of the men had two "clean" (i.e., ritually clean) sons. (In another version by J.T. several little boys tell their elders that they will kill the snake.) The boys go to the Sun. When they approached the Sun, he told them not to come too close because of the heat. Sun told them to stand off to one side.

He then instructed them to take some sweepings (dirt swept to the west end of the Big House) and to sprinkle it around the lake inhabited by the great snake, and that this procedure would kill the snake.

When they returned, this was done. Immediately the water began to boil, the snake could be seen writhing in the water. Soon he floated on his back dead, and so they were rid of the monster. (J.T.)

The Horned Serpent was not always an enemy of the Delawares, although he seems to have been an adversary of the Thunders and some other deities, as the following story related by M.B. shows:

There was a little boy who was different from other little boys. He wouldn't go out to hunt like they did. People told his grandfather that the boy wasn't any good. The grandfather decided that he would take care of the boy. He built a boat of sticks, put the boy on the boat and took him to an island. The old man built a fire on the island and told the boy to go off and kill some birds. This was just a ruse to get rid of the boy. While the boy was gone the grandfather used Indian tobacco and prayed for the little boy in order to make the boy wise.

When the old man was finished he hollered for the little boy to tell him that he was going. The old man left the little boy all alone on the island. The boy was frantic, he cried and he cried. Day after day he cried, but on the fifth day he heard someone talking to him. It was a skunk who said he wanted to take the boy home. But another voice told skunk that he was too small to do this.

The boy began to cry again. The next day, however, another voice said he would take the boy home. This voice came from a large snake with horns. The snake told him to hold tight to his horns and to warn him immediately if he saw a cloud. The boy held on to the horns and they sped toward the shore. They got about halfway and a large black cloud appeared. The boy warned the snake as he

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

773

had been told to do. The snake turned around so violently that the boy almost fell off. They returned to the island and the little boy was again very sad.

The boy decided that next day he would not tell the snake about any clouds. The next day the snake told him to hold tight to his horns and to warn him of any clouds. This time they reached the shore, although the boy neglected to tell the snake about a cloud he had seen. The snake had been going through the water so fast that he ran right up onto the beach. At that moment lightning struck the snake and killed him. The Thunder Gods had been wanting to eat the snake and the seven of them did so. One took the horns, the "least" thunder bird took the tail.

The boy got home, the people met him and doctored him as the lightning had hurt him a little bit. The grandfather told the boy to go to a burned tree and build a fire, then to shoot at a blackened log and he would kill a bear. Then he would have company and they would eat the bear.

The boy did all this, the company came and ate the bear and then the boy was like all other boys.

Another myth about the Horned Serpent, which was not related to me in its entirety, was a tale in which the malevolence of this being was circumvented by marrying an attractive girl to the monster. All the boys of the village were enamored of a beautiful girl, but none of the adults would let any of them marry her. In time the girl was married to the Horned Serpent and he no longer menaced the Delawares (M.B.).

Mythological Giants

Only one story concerned giants; in this the supernatural beings involved were not identified:

A party of women was out gathering firewood when an eagle flew down to them. They abused him by capturing him. He escaped, however, and told the powers of his treatment at the hands of the women.

Within ten days it snowed so much that the houses were covered up. The people soon had nothing to eat or to burn. They finally began to eat one another. The cannibals began to grow until they became vicious giants. It is these giants who are buried in the Indian mounds. Fortunately the giants finally died out.

Once a family was crossing a creek when one of them saw the reflection of one of the giants in the water. The giant was standing on a mountain looking down at them. He had a long walking cane and started coming for them. The family crossed back over the creek because they knew that these giants were afraid of water. The giant came down to the creek and instead of putting his cane vertically in the water to measure its depth he measured it horizontally. After doing this he mistakenly assumed that it was over his head. Actually a normal sized person could wade this creek. The family moved away from where this giant lived. (F.W.)

Certain constellations of stars had myths connected with them. Only one story, however, was given:

During the Big House Ceremony, as the participants were taking a recess, seven boys began to rise in the air. The people began to shout to them and managed to knock two of them back down, by throwing unclean clothing at them. The others rose into the heavens and became those stars (an unidentified group). (J.T.)

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
NM7 Delaware NM7

773 Origin of Dolls of the Doll Dances

The informant J.T. told the following stories:

In early times there was a girl who liked to play with dolls. She would pick up all sorts of things and pretend that they were dolls. Even after she was grown she continued to play with dolls. Then she became very ill. During her illness a voice spoke to her. The voice told her that in order to get well she would have to make a doll such as she would see in the dream. She opened her eyes and saw the doll she was to make, and the voice told her how to take care of the doll, to give it feasts. The voice went on to tell her that dolls were not things to play with when you are grown. You don't play with them because dolls take care of the crops. When the girl awoke she went to the woods and carved a doll like the one she saw in her vision. She got well.

Once when the old folks had gone to a doll dance and left their kids at home, the kids got together and decided to make their own doll and have a dance. A girl made a doll and they had their dance, even though they didn't know the proper songs. It was wrong to make a doll, this was dangerous. One spring these children didn't dance this doll and the next spring a child got "bad sick." The phratry chief, who was also a medicine man, came to treat her. He knew that it was the doll that was causing this child to be sick. So the child's parents had the children give the doll a dance. They did and the sick child recovered.[139]

522 539 The purely secular tales, which have nothing to do with supernatural forces, are not well remembered today, and perhaps always formed only a small part of the folklore. The following tale was considered extremely hilarious by informants.

There once was a woman who intensely disliked her son-in-law. This worried the son-in-law and finally he decided to do something about it. He went down to the pond from which his mother-in-law was accustomed to draw water. He tied all the lily pads together so that he could make them vibrate by pulling on a string. Then he hid himself in some bushes that were near by. Soon his mother-in-law came down to draw water. He vibrated the lily pads and disguised his voice saying: "Your son-in-law is going to die, your son-in-law is going to die." She, of course, thought the lily pads were speaking to her. She started back to the wigwam, but her son-in-law took a short cut and beat her back. He was sitting within when the tearful woman arrived. She started being very nice to him, she combed and brushed his clothes and softened his buckskin clothes, and was nice to him afterwards because she thought he was going to die. (J.T., M.B.)

[139] Harrington, 1921, pp. 163-65, described a myth which was very similar to this one.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

were too powerful for them, they pretended that it would not be good for the nations to wage war continually and that one nation ought to be the woman and that nation must be the Delawares, as they were the greatest warriors. Afterward they alleged that they had conquered the Delawares. In the war which began in 1755 and lasted until the sixties the Delawares challenged the Six Nations on the occasion of a Treaty in Pittsburg, but the latter returned no answer.[99]

Of late years the Delawares have amazingly increased in reputation through the wise management of the Chief Netawatwes. This man spared no pains to gain the friendship of all the nations. He sent frequent embassies to the grandchildren, and showed himself a true grandfather. When the Delawares sent a message to the allied nations, the speech began with each string or belt of wampum, "Grand-children;" the nations address the Delawares, "Grandfather." The Wyondats and Six Nations are addressed "Uncle," and the Europeans, "Brother." The speech is generally addressed directly to the chief, though meant for the whole nation.

The nations generally addressed the French as "Father," when the latter were in possession of Canada and had intercourse with them. The same appellation was transferred to the English when they conquered Canada. In the other colonies Europeans and Indians called one another "Brothers." This practice was followed by Sir William Johnson.

Indians explain the origin of Nations and their names by saying, and this not unlikely, that the inhabitants of towns or districts named themselves according to the places where they dwelt. Thus even at the present time Delawares who live in Goschachgünk are commonly called Goschachgiwak, that is Goschachgühlser — "people of Goschachgünk."

A message sent or a speech in council goes or is delivered in the name of the three tribes, signifying the three chiefs. The Turtle tribe is named first, next the Wolf Tribe and the Turkey Tribe last.

When a message is returned, not having been accepted, the belt or string of wampum that has been rejected is thrown on the floor of the council house, after it has been announced why

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

through which unquestionably many evils have crept in. They lived in earlier days more simply, perhaps one ought to say more stupidly, and now that they have gained in knowledge and understanding they have become practiced in wickedness. 771

They consider the soul to be an invisible being and a spirit. Formerly, they used the word *Wtellenapewoagan* to describe it, meaning the "Substance of a Human Being." Savages use this word to the present day. Now they have accepted the word *Wtschitschank*, that is, "Spirit." They believe also in the immortality of the soul. Some likened themselves to corn which when thrown out and buried in the soil comes up and grows. Some believe their souls to be in the sun and only their bodies here. Others say that when they die their souls will go to God and suppose that when they have been some time with God they will be at liberty to return to the world and be born again. Hence, many believe that their souls have come from God and that they have been in the world before. 774

They believe also in the transmigration of the soul. Wandering spirits and ghosts, they claim, sometimes throw something into a public path and whoever goes over it is bewitched and becomes lame or ill. They even pretend to know where such a thing happened, learning it from the doctors who are thought to be able to effect a cure. 775

Concerning the deluge there are some fairly clear traditions among the Indians. According to these, the world was at one time entirely flooded and all men perished. The turtle, however, able to live both on land and sea, had survived and again peopled the world. Hence, the Turtle Tribe is the most important among the Indians. Another tradition is that when the earth was flooded some men and women had seated themselves on the back of a turtle of such great age that moss had already grown on its back. These people commissioned a diver that flew nearby to search for land. After searching in many regions this bird had at last returned with a bit of earth in its mouth. They, then, proceed on the back of the turtle to where this earth had been procured and found a little spot of dry land, where they settled. Gradually more land appeared, and this was, eventually, peopled by the descendants of those 773

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7
Iroquois NM9
Nanticoke NM11

D NM3 who had on the back of the turtle escaped the general destruction.

Concerning their origin no trace of tradition is to be found among the Indians. From some old Mingoes I heard that they believed themselves to have come from under the earth, where they had lived before. A badger had worked his way to the surface, seen the beautiful land and returned at once to announce to them what he had seen. They had been so pleased with his account that they left their subterranean abode forthwith and settled in this beautiful land. From their habit of speaking in figure or parable, it may be concluded that by this account they mean to convey the idea that they originally came from the other side of the earth. Others say that they came from under the water, which may mean much the same thing. I NM3

N NM3 The tradition of the Nantikoks is that seven Indians had suddenly seen themselves seated at the sea-side. Whether they had come over the sea or been there created they did not know. Descendants of these Indians peopled the land. Others, again, claim that the first human being fell from heaven. This was a woman, cast out from the upper regions by her husband. Shortly after her fall from heaven she was delivered of twins, from whom the inhabitants of this land are descended. They believe that in the realm above them is a world of men much like this, whence the Indians originally came.

D NM6 787 They believe in numerous spirits or subordinate deities. Almost all animals and the elements are looked upon as spirits, one exceeding the other in dignity and power. There is scarcely an Indian who does not believe that one or more of these spirits has not been particularly given him to assist him and make him prosper. This, they claim, has been made known to them in a dream, even as their religious belief and witchcraft is alleged to have been made known to them in a dream. One has, in a dream, received a serpent or a buffalo, another the sun or the moon, another an owl or some other bird, another a fish, some even ridiculously insignificant creatures such as ants. These are considered their spirits or *Manittos*. If an Indian has no *Manitto* to be his friend he considers himself forsaken, has nothing upon which he may lean, has no hope of any assistance

3;Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
NM7 Delaware NM7

offerings are then regarded by God as rendered to him. It is clear enough that the Indians, professing to worship God and bringing sacrifices to him, serve Satan, who influences their dreams, and keeps them in slavery in this wise, for the Indians consider dreams to be of great importance and nothing less than revelations from God. It is indeed true as the Apostle says, 1 Cor. 10:20, "the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to the devils and not to God." Those among the Indians who have been converted recognize this and henceforth hold the Indian sacrifices and offerings to be vain and do not care to say much about them.

To the spirits of the dead they offer both meat and drink-offerings. If it is to be a meat offering, which the doctors must decide in case of illness or accident, either a hog or a bear is killed for a feast and guests are invited. The latter assemble in the house where the sacrifice is to be offered. An old man gives part of the meal to the enraged spirits, speaks with them, and begs them to be pacified. All this is done in the dark; there must be neither fire nor light. After the old man has communed with the spirits he tells the guests that they have been appeased.

If it is to be a drink offering rum is required. Guests are invited also. They drink together and some one speaks with the spirits and pacifies them. The guests walk to the grave and pour some rum upon it. Such sacrifices are very common among them, and are arranged even upon very trivial occasions. In case of a tooth-ache or head-ache, they imagine that the spirits are displeased and must be pacified by an offering.

Every woman whose child dies in a foreign land travels, if possible, once a year to the place of its burial, taking another woman with her, and offers a drink-offering upon its grave.

The hare is regarded as a great God and they bring offerings to it. The name of one of the twins born to the woman that was thrown from heaven was *Tschimammus*, that is, hare. He made the land upon which the Indians dwell and was their ancestor. Now he is said to dwell in heaven, for many Indians who have been there have seen him and spoken to him and to them he has declared that he would come again.

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The following examples are typical of the ideas which the present-day Oklahoma Delaware express in their rationalization of the causes of various maladies and physical deformities. Rheumatism, which the Delaware call by a term meaning "old people's disease," is attributed to unclean habits of living during youth. Scrofula is described by the Delaware phrase meaning "matter around the neck." If a person indulges in profanity, he may develop this condition.

It is said that congenital malformation rarely occurs among the Indians. Such physical abnormalities are attributed to the power of malevolent spirits which afflicted the child because of his parents' failure to fulfill tribal obligations by keeping up certain ceremonies bequeathed to them. Such a physical handicap, however, did not keep an individual from leading a useful life, for he was otherwise blessed. The informant added, "Sometimes the weakest person is chosen by the Creator to be powerful in mind. He does that as a matter of pity."[2]

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Paralysis is said to be the result of an encounter with an apparition.[3] If a person sees a ghost-like form approaching, he should step aside to avoid being stricken with paralysis. According to Wi·tapanóxwe, "an apparition in passing by is felt as a slight wind. Sometimes what appears to be a cloud is seen floating along the road and if allowed to touch a person, will cause a stroke." Occasionally a fire is observed to start at the bottom of a tree, blaze up to the top, and then disappear. The informant warned against attempting to strike at such a flame inasmuch as it would result in fatal sickness to the person or to a member of his family.

Wi·tapanóxwe relates the following incident of a personal encounter with an apparition. "We were just young boys then, my brother and I, and we were riding home one afternoon just before sundown. As we rode along I noticed something in the middle of the road, and it seemed to be coming toward us. It had the appearance of a large animal but I could not see its form distinctly. Naturally, I was a little bewild-

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[2] Delaware mythology reiterates the theme of the weakling child vanquishing his powerful opponents through the weapon of shrewd wits over brute strength

[3] Zeisberger (no date, p. 131) says in regard to apparitions: "Wandering spirits and ghosts they claim sometimes throw something into a public path and whoever goes over it is bewitched and becomes lame or ill. They even pretend to know where such a thing happened, learning it from the doctors who are thought to be able to effect a cure."

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
NM7 Delaware NM7

Loud reports from river ice indicate an early thaw.

A wolf "whinnying" (howling) denotes a change in the weather.

To see a cat washing its face is an indication of an unexpected visitor; sharpening its claws denotes that it will soon receive some meat.

DELAWARE FOOD RESOURCES

IN AN EARLIER section it was pointed out that according to native belief, human health is dependent upon "pure, natural" food. Products of the fields and forests thus acquired a sacred character (Speck, 1931, p. 50), and food and medicine in Delaware conception were not totally unlike. It follows from this that the ailments afflicted the Indians in modern times are considered as being due to a departure from the ancient food regimen provided by the Creator. Investigation of the food supply, and its methods of preparation, was thought worthy of being taken up as part of the present phase of inquiry. The results are embodied in the present section, partly through their bearing upon health as dependent upon food. Except for this interrelation, the subject matter might seem to be more definitely an economic one.

Maize

Among the food products used by the Delaware, Indian maize *(Zea mays)* stands out as the staple vegetable product. Maize is believed to provide nourishment for the soul as well as for the body. The reverence for the Spirit of Maize[1] and for the processes of its preparation, still survives among the Delaware.

Before presenting the data which deals with the preparation of corn foods, it seems appropriate to mention native beliefs concerning the origin of this sacred food.[2] Maize, "original corn" or "common corn," is a gift from the Creator and in former times, according to Harrington *(op. cit.,* pp. 43, 141), was considered as one of the powerful

[1] Harrington, 1921, pp. 43, 193.

[2] For further information dealing with the maize complex in eastern North America, particularly among the Iroquois, see Parker, 1910; Converse, 1910; Waugh, 1916. The writer (1930) has noted the survival of certain traits indicating the presence of a religious rite in the early period among the southern New England tribes. For the Southeastern peoples, consult Swanton, 1928 b., pp. 443-444.

262 Spirit Beings. Zeisberger *(op. cit.,* p. 139) referred to Indian corn as
● 173 the "wife of the Indian," and, in describing certain ceremonial rites, stated that they offered bear's flesh as a sacrifice to the corn. He also said that corn was offered ceremonially to the deer and bear. Apparently, Harrington (*ibid.,* pp. 70, 195) did not learn the details of this Corn-Spirit rite but the plant was, however, mentioned as a guardian spirit, Mother Corn. There is an interesting ceremony recorded by Dr. Speck [3] which the Delaware held to propitiate the spirit of Mother Corn whom they considered to hold protection over all vegetation. It is related that many years ago the corn crops began to decrease, so that people became alarmed. The leading men of the tribe met and agreed that to avert a famine, a ceremony must be performed to appease the Maize Spirit. It was feared that she had become displeased and intended to abandon her children, the Delaware. In this way the Corn Harvest Rite originated and the performance of its ritual made the occasion of a festival.

262 Corn also figured in the ceremonial diet of the participants of the
252 Big House Ceremony. Dr. Speck (1931, p. 73) notes that corn flour and hominy were prepared and served by women attendants.[4] These foods were prepared in wooden mortars kept expressly for ceremonial use.[5] As was previously stated, corn gruel or hominy is considered to be the proper food for sick or convalescing persons.[6]

Indian corn of the variegated variety is known as "common" or "original corn" [7] Another variety, called "hollow corn," is ground into flour for use in making bread.

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[3] 1937a, pp. 79-90. In addition to the Corn Harvest rite and Corn Famine text, Dr. Speck has an account of the Vegetation Ceremony now performed bi-annually in the spring and fall. These gatherings are now called "Bread Dances" and in addition to the performance of a ritual, afford an occasion for recreation. Both men and women take part.

[4] The three men and three women who are responsible for the ceremonial equipment and assist in a ceremonial role in the nightly performances during the period of worship in the Big House. (Speck, 1931, pp. 71, 75.)

[171] [5] A similar observance has been recorded for the Mohegan of Connecticut and the Indians of Wampanoag extraction at Gay Head, Mass. See Tantaquidgeon, 1930, pp. 5-7.

[6] See Diet, p. 14.

[171] [7] I have observed that my own group at Mohegan, Conn., and the people at Gay Head, Mass., regard varied-colored corn to be the original variety and value it very highly.

4: Tantaquidgeon E-5 (1930) 1942
NM7 Delaware NM7

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have seen *Maté-kanis* and they usually became noted for their physical strentgh. *Maté-kanis* is not seen any more because the Indians have changed their mode of living and are not clean enough to be visited by such spiritual beings. The white man's ways are so far removed from the ways of the Indian that if we adopt any of them we cannot expect to see many of the things which were commonly seen before we knew of his strange ways." [1]

The Seven Wise Men

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"Years ago there were seven wise men among the Indians. So great was their pride that they did not wish to associate with the common people. Because they were so wise and great, they had to find a way to conceal themselves from the people. After thinking over the matter very seriously they said, 'We will turn into rocks of odd shapes.' Now there happened to be a young man who was gifted [1] and he went out to walk on a hillside. As he walked along he noticed the seven peculiarly shaped rocks and as he stopped to look at them, one of them spoke to him. The young man recognized them at once as being the seven prophets and they conversed together. They told him not to tell where they were, but someone noticed his frequent visits to the spot, and soon they were again sought by curious people. Now they must leave the quiet hillside and go elsewhere. After a while there appeared in the forest seven stately cedar trees. More perfectly formed trees were never before seen and they were greatly admired. It was not long before someone discovered that they were the seven prophets and they again had to change their form and depart. The Creator thought that it was of no use to place them on earth as they were being constantly bothered by earthly things so he placed them in the heavens. There we see the seven stars [2] as they were placed there so long ago by the Creator."

[1] According to Wi-tapanóxwe every individual is "gifted" or has some supernatural power. In some it is developed early in life, while in other individuals it remains a latent undeveloped force.

[2] The Pleiades.

their Wampum, which is proportioned to the quality of the Offense or Person injured, or of the Sex they are of: for in case they kill a woman, they pay double, and the reason they render is , That she breedeth Children, which men cannot do." (Penn, p. 43). Except for the concept of different recompense according to the sex of the person injured, the above statements are confirmed by other writers. More common than recompense in the case of murder or rape, however, was the death of the offender at the hands of the injured person's family 12 (Brainerd, p. 356; Heckewelder, 1881, p. 329; Huttenber, p. 48; Harrington, 1913, p. 217).

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Religion

All of the Delaware accounts of the origin of the world and of the tribe center around a giant mythical tortoise related in some way to the Turtle phratry and the occasion of that phratry's pre-eminance over the other two. The most complete version is found in the writings of Danckaerts whose visit to this region dates back to 1679. He asked an old Indian where the first of his race came from.

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> "He was silent for a little while as if unable to climb up at once so high with his thoughts, or to express them without help, and then took a piece of coal out of the fire where he sat, and began to write upon the floor. He first drew a circle, a little oval to which he made four paws or feet, a head and a tail; 'This', said he, 'is a tortoise, lying in the water around it', and he moved his hand around the figure continuing, 'This was or is all water, and so at first was the world or the earth, when the tortoise gradually raised its round back up high, and the water ran off of it, and thus the earth became dry.' He then took a little straw and placed it on end in the middle of the figure and proceeded, 'The earth was now dry, and there grew a tree in the middle of the earth, and the root of this tree sent forth a sprout beside it, and there grew upon it a man, who was the first male; This man was then alone, and would have remained alone, but the tree bent over until its top touched the earth, and there shot therein another root from which came forth another sprout, and there grew upon it the woman, and from these two are all men produced...'" (Danckaerts, pp. 77-80).

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The following writers also refer to the turtle as the earth and the agent of the creation of man: Heckewelder (1881, p. 250); Kalm (p. 606); Ziesberger (1870, p. 218). Other creation myths have the general theme that the people lived under the earth before they came up to live on the surface (Heckewelder, 1881, pp. 249-50).

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The Gods of the Delaware

776 The Delaware believed in a supreme first power, "who had not only produced or made all things, but produces every day...Everything he makes and does is good." (Danckaerts, p. 174). This does not mean that the creator necessarily creates everything himself, but what ever being creates (as, for example, the tortoise in the creation myth) does so as his agent; Brainerd noted that although the Indians paid reverential attention to birds, beasts, fishes and reptiles, "...they do not indeed suppose a divine power essential to, or inhering in, these creatures; but that some invisible beings ...communicate to these animals a great power; ...and so make these creatures the immediate authors of good to certain persons." (Brainerd, pp. 344-45). Likewise the guardian spirits and all other beings with unusual power derive it from the Great Spirit (Penn, p. 37; Zeisberger, 1910, p. 128)

In addition to granting objects of nature special power on certain occasions, the Great Spirit is believed to have given more or less permanent control over certain aspects of nature to lesser beings. From this arises their concept of the lesser deities such as the four directions, the Sun, the Moon, Thunders, Living Solid Face or Mask Being (Harrington, 1913, pp. 226-27; Brainerd, p. 345: Heckwelder, 1881, pp. 212-213). We know from later sources that this last being is the guardian of the animals. He is the only deity whose appearance is specifically designated and represented 532 by a costume. The face is a wooden mask painted half red and half [292] black; its body, which was supposed to have been hairy, is represented by a suit of bearskin (Harrington, 1921, p. 33). Apparently Brainerd saw a shaman dressed to represent this being for his description coincides in all details (Brainerd, p. 237). The only other known images of the Delaware were faces, also painted red and black, which were carved on the Big House posts and miniature stone faces which were worn around the neck. Present day Delwares think of the former as representing the spirits in charge of each of the twelve heavens, and consider them related to the Living Solid [277] Face (Beatty, p. 22; Harrington, 1921, p. 31). The latter were according to Harrington, worn as good luck or good health charms (Harrington, 1921, p. 36). An example of one found in an east coast site is shown in Skinner (1920, p. 5).

773 The Delaware also told of a super-human man who had come in 776 the remote past and taught them how to live. In Lindstrom's version, a Lenape woman became pregnant and gave birth to a son although no man had any connection with her. This boy, "...had so much to say that it was a great wonder and performed many miracles and wonders. When he now became somewhat large he departed from us and went up into the air... 'He promised to come back to us, but he never came back to us again,' they say." (Lindstrom, p. 208). In other accounts these same features are combined with a more specific refer-

ence to this person's having taught them the correct way to live and perform their sacrifices (Brainard, p. 345; Luckenbach, p. 616; Brinton, 1888, p. 38). 773 776

Methods of Worship

The all-pervasive method of worship was sacrifice of burned flesh or tobacco. The correct method for performing these sacrifices, the dances, the order of procedure, method of constructing the house in which they were to be performed and other details were prescribed to the ancestors of the Delaware in the distant past. Most of these details escaped the notice, or at least failed to arouse the interest of our earliest observers, but Penn sketched their ceremonies in the following general terms: 782 796

> "Their Worship consists of two parts, Sacrifice and Cantico. Their Sacrifice is their first Fruits; the first and fattest Buck they kill, goeth to the fire, where he is all burnt with a Mournful Ditty of him that performeth the Ceremony... The other part is their Cantico, performed by round-Dances, sometimes words, sometimes Songs, then Shouts, two being in the middle, that begin, and by Singing and Drumming on a Board direct the Chorus: Their Postures in the Dance are very Antick and differing, but all keep measure..." (p. 38-39; also see Lindstrom, p. 208).

The emphasis on traditionalism in Delaware religion makes it not unlikely that the ceremonies which were witnessed in the eighteenth century were similar to those performed before the white man arrived.13 [177]

The following description of the fall ceremony is taken primarily from an eye witness account of Abraham Luckenbach, but where details are corroborated by other writers the reference is also cited. It coincides in many details with the ceremony described in Frank Speck's A Study of the Delaware Indian Big House Ceremony, which is an annotated account of a recitation of the ceremony as remembered by a Delaware Indian living in Oklahoma. 796

The ceremony was held in the Big House, which also served as council house. "The entrance was at both gable ends and there was neither floor nor ceiling. Near both ends and in the middle, there were three fires over which hung large kettles in which corn and meat were boiled for the guests and always kept in readiness for them to eat, when finished with the dance." The smoke opening left at the ridge of the roof and the bench running around the interior wall were similar to those already described for ordinary houses (also see Beatty, p. 22). 796 344

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

The whole matter is well summed up by Loskiel[11] where he says: "Besides the Supreme Being, they believe in good and evil spirits, considering them as subordinate deities. . . . They seem to have had no idea of the *Devil*, as the Prince of Darkness, before the Europeans came into the country." This idea is also supported by Zeisberger[12] and Brainerd,[13] although Holm[14] seems to give contrary evidence.

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MANĬ'TOWŬK OF THE FOUR DIRECTIONS

The Lenape now in Oklahoma believe that when the earth was created, and everything finished, the Creator gave the four quarters of the earth to four powerful beings, or *manĭ'towŭk*, whose duty it was to take care of these regions. These personages are the cause of the winds which blow from the different directions, with the exception of the tornado, which is thought to have a different origin. In the winter, it is said that the *manĭ'towŭk* of the north and the south are playing the game of bowl and

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6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

CHAPTER VI

Minsi Big House Ceremonies

HE following account of the great ceremonies of the Minsi, which correspond to the annual ceremony of the Unami, was obtained from Chief James Wolf, now deceased, and his nephew, Chief Nellis Timothy. 796x

Myth of Origin

At first, it appears, the Indians did not know how to worship, so Kĕ'tanĭto'-wĕt, the Great Manĭ'to or God, now called Pa''tŭmawas, came down and told them what to do. After following his instructions, they watched him when he ascended. He carried twelve sumach sticks in his hand, and they could see them shine far up in the air. Every now and then he dropped one, and when he 773 796x

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

dropped the twelfth he disappeared, while they heard the heavens crack like thunder behind him as he went in. After this the Lenape began to hold these meetings according to the instructions he had given them.

NUMBER OF CEREMONIES

There were two of these ceremonies every year, both held in the Minsi Big House (*W'a'takan*), which was quite similar to that of the Unami. One of these, performed about June when the wild strawberries were ripe, lasted only a single night; the other, early in winter, covered twelve days and nights. This latter corresponds to the Annual Ceremony of the Unami.

At the June ceremony fresh strawberries were made into a drink for the people, which reminds one of the Iroquois Strawberry Dance, or Dance of First Fruits, as it is sometimes called. Strawberries were dried at this time to make a drink for the Winter Ceremony.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

CHAPTER VII

THE MISI'NG$^{w^1}$ OR MASK

•773 THE Minsi version of the myth explaining the origin of their great ceremonies has been already related, but not that of the Unami, for the latter, which concerns itself with the origin of the Unami rites as now practised, is so intimately interwoven with the story of the *Misi'ng$^{w^1}$*, or mask (fig. 1), that it was thought best to place it in the chapter devoted to that curious being, with whose position in the Lenape pantheon, recorded history, and activities in the Annual Ceremony, we have already become acquainted.

The myth is therefore presented herewith, as related by Chief Charley Elkhair, the Lenape master of ceremonies, with only such additions as later questioning brought forth.

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

CHAPTER VIII

Minor Ceremonies

The Doll Being

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THE Doll Being, called by the Unami *O"das* and by the Minsi *Nani'tis*, has been already mentioned as a minor Lenape deity, and it now remains only to relate the ceremonies and beliefs connected with it, beginning with the myth accounting for its origin.

Myth of Origin

Long ago, the Lenape say, some children, playing with sticks, decided to cut faces upon them, and were then very much surprised to notice that the little dolls which they had thus made seemed to have life. Their parents made them throw the dolls away when they discovered this, and most of the children

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

soon forgot what had happened. One little girl, however, grieved for her doll; it bothered her all the time, and finally she began to dream of it every night. Then she told her parents of her trouble, and they realized that they should not have compelled her to throw the doll away. One night the doll appeared to the child and spoke to her, saying, "Find me and keep me always, and you and your family will ever enjoy good health. You must give me new clothing and hold a dance for me every spring," and then told her exactly what to do. The girl reported this to her parents, who immediately looked for the doll and found it, then dressed it, made some hominy, killed a deer, and held a dance in its honor as they were instructed, and this rite has been continued to the present day.

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PREPARATIONS FOR THE CEREMONY

When the family owning a doll of this kind is ready to conduct the Doll Dance (*O''das-kĭ'nĭkă*), they select two men to

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NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

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attendance is large, two such fires are built. Between the changes the doll pole is stuck into the ground near the fire. When the twelfth set is finished, the speaker announces, "The Doll Dance is over," and the feast of hominy and venison is served to everyone. Then the speaker says: "If you want to dance the rest of the night, you may do so, for many of you have come a long way from home and should have a chance for more enjoyment. We will hold another Doll Dance next year." Then they put the doll away and amuse themselves with various social dances until morning.

Minsi Doll Ceremony

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Among the Minsi the beliefs concerning the Doll Being were similar, but differed in detail. As to origin, Wolf told the writer that one time a man lay ill, likely to die, and his family called in a medicine-man, or "witch-doctor." The shaman finally announced that the family must make one of these dolls and care for it, and that the sick man would then get

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

well. This was done, and the doctor's prediction being realized, the Minsi have ever since made and used these dolls, called in their dialect *nani'tis*, which were transmitted from parents to children. Wolf's own mother had one, carved out of wood in the form of a person, with a woman's dress and moccasins (for as a rule they represent women); and she always cared for it religiously, in the belief that if well treated it would protect the family and give them good health, but if neglected, someone would surely die. Every year, in the fall, when the deer are in their best condition, Wolf's mother held a dance for it, called "Feeding the Nani'tis;" but she did more than feed it: she put new clothes on it, three sets, and new moccasins every year. She believed that the image sometimes went about of its own accord, although she kept it carefully in a box, for the old dresses always seemed worn at the bottom and soiled, and she found burrs clinging to them when she went to put new clothes on "Nani'tis."

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6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

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She hired a man especially to hunt a yearling doe for the ceremony, which took place in her own dwelling. The details are lost, but it is remembered that a man beat a little drum and sang while she, as owner, danced around, carrying the doll in her hands, followed by such of the other women present as wished to participate. Said Wolf, "The Nani'tis helped the Indians, that's why they fed it."

532 778 [126]

An Old Minsi "Doll."—The writer was able to obtain but one old specimen of this type (pl. VIII), which was procured at the Grand River reserve, Ontario, for the E. T. Tefft collection, now in the American Museum of Natural History, and was described in the writer's article,[a] before cited, as follows:

"Perhaps the most interesting Delaware specimen of all is the little wooden image, about eight inches high, bought of Dr. Jones, which his father, Rev. Peter Jones, described and illustrated in his book under the name 'Nahnestis, the Guardian of Health.' He says:

[776] "'I have in my possession two family gods. One is called *Pahookowaih*—the god that crushes

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

TRADITIONAL ORIGIN

7%X 5173 The Indians say that a cub bear, kept as a pet by a Lenape family long ago, became a great playmate of one of the little sons of the family, but finally grew so large that the child's parents decided to get rid of it; so they tied a little bag of tobacco around its neck and told it to go away. This it did, but the little boy, its playmate, soon fell ill, and his parents searched in vain for a cure. After a long while one of the Indian doctors told his parents that if they would hold a ceremony of this kind and repeat it every two years, the child would recover and would keep his health. This was done; the boy recovered, and his family, who belong to the Wolf phratry, have continued to practise the rites ever since, believing that it preserves their health.

PREPARATIONS

7%X 346 This ceremony required a special house, which was made new for it every two years, so the first thing the family did, when the time approached, was to find

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910) 1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

796 X by Zeisberger[177] may have been of this kind:

"A fourth kind of feast is held in honor of a certain voracious spirit, who, according to their opinions, is never satisfied. The guests are, therefore, obliged to eat all the bear's flesh and drink the melted fat. Though indigestion and vomiting may result they must continue and not leave anything."

OTTER CEREMONY

Similar to the Bear ceremony in many ways, both in traditional origin and in rites, was the observance called *A'ici-gamn'ili*[178], said to mean "compulsory hog-eating," held to propitiate the Otter spirit, a cult whose paraphernalia the writer was fortunate enough to collect for the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation.

[176]

MYTH OF ORIGIN

●773 796 X Many years ago, so runs the story, a little girl about ten years of age was given a young otter for a pet, and this she kept and cared for until it was well grown. About this time she began to feel that she should keep him no longer, for she

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

had come to realize that he was *pi"lsu"*, meaning "pure" or "sacred," and, like all wild things, belonged to the Powers Above. The old people told her what she must do, so she took her otter down to the creek, and, first tying a little bag of tobacco on his neck, said to him: "Now I shall set you free. I have raised you and cared for you until now you are full grown. Go, then, and follow the ways of your kind."

The otter disappeared into the waters, and the little girl returned to her home, feeling that she had done well. But before a year had passed, a sickness came upon her, which the Indian doctors told her was caused by her pet otter, which wanted something to eat. The only way for the child to get well, they said, was for her to have a hog killed and cooked, and then to invite a number of men to eat it all, in the name of the otter. This was done, and when the men finished eating the hog and the soup, they said that the girl would recover, and so she did. For this ceremony they took an

[Text continues on page 179]

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certain dance given as a memorial to the dead was supposed to clear a way for the spirit of the deceased to the spirit land. When a member of the Wolf clan died, the flesh was stripped from the bones and buried, and the bones were dried at some private place. At the end of 12 days the skeleton would be wrapped in white buckskin and taken to a place prepared for the dance and there held up by some one. As the singers would sing the men who held the skeleton would shake it and the bones would rattle as the dancers would proceed around it. After the dance the skeleton was buried.

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Traditions say that in ancient times some of the head men in the Wolf clan had a dream that they must treat their dead in that way, and the custom has been handed down to them for many centuries. The other clans say the custom does not belong to them. The custom has been long dropped. There has not been a skeleton dance since 1860."

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

796 at the termination of the rite to pray, forming a line at the west door of the Big House. Why they prayed with the wampum beads in their mouth, figuratively with their "heart" in their mouths, is not explicitly known to the informant, but we are told that wampum is the "heart" of the Delaware.

796 773 Reverting to Wi·tapano'xwe's version of the origin of the Turkey group rite, Half Moon added a most interesting supplement to the tradition which I quote as follows as nearly as possible in his words. The origin tale narrates the occasion of the earthquake and bursting forth of black fluid as in a volcanic eruption, as a sign of the anger of the Great Spirit aroused by the evil doings of men, and that the ceremony of the Big House was revealed in a vision to some good men as a means of appeasing the anger of the Supreme One. Half Moon added to this that at the time of the cataclysm the women in terror trying to shelter themselves from the downpour of destruction, took the little children under seven years old and held them in their arms. They knew that children of this age could not be guilty of wrong and so attempted to shield themselves from the Great Spirit's wrath. Finally, we are told, one of the innocents cried out in terror, "Ho, ho; Hă, hă," which became known at once as the revealed prayer-call by which the Great Spirit should be addressed. The distracted people knew that it was the mission of this child to inform them of the means by which the Great Spirit might be invoked in prayer to stay his anger. This most interesting narrative accounts for the origin of the sacred prayer-call so often employed in the procedure of the Big House as recorded in the published work, while for the student of the history of religions we in it have another instance of the ruse of the guilty hiding from wrath behind the shield of innocence.

796 778 773 From Half Moon as a source comes another most significant tradition bearing upon the history of the use of the Mask and the carved images in the Big House Ceremony. According to the Delaware conception of events in the history of their ceremony the images and the Mask Spirit episode (see page 39, "Big House Ceremony") were formally introduced into the rite

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

shortly before or about at the time of the arrival of Europeans. A transcript of the informant's version is as follows:

"It was relatively late, just about the time when white people were first seen by the Delawares, that they adopted the carved images as part of the ceremonial equipment of the Big House. The images were not made on the posts of the building before. A man of spiritual power had a vision of a monster residing in the East, its body covered with hair, with a face half red and half black. To prove the reality of his vision he induced a companion to accompany him traveling to the East where they finally reached the dwelling place of the monster, proving his existence. Upon this discovery they returned to their people. Having identified the monster and desiring to acquire the power to call upon him for spiritual aid when they desired it, they induced the other Delawares to allow them to carve the likenesses of the monster upon the posts of the Big House. Furthermore they innovated the rite of the False Face or Mask image (Messingk) as personified by an actor who wore the Mask and who was garbed in the bear skin coat and leggings carrying a pouch of the same material and a large snapping turtle shell hand-rattle. Henceforth the Mask Image figured as a potent Spirit Force in the hierarchy of the Manitto assemblage in the Big House celebration. The black- and red-faced hairy monster possessed latent power to effect evil in the lives of men. Hence those to whom he reveals himself in a vision acquire the power to do harm, and since his presence is tolerated among the Big House spirits they may find a place among the worshipers. That is why it is not all for the exercise of the power of good. In the development of Delaware religion as it appears in the Big House, a fault crept in."

What the meaning of this peculiar legend may be as regards the actual history of the Big House Ceremony, one is at a loss to say as yet. It would seem that the position of the Mask Spirit as a canonized Spirit Force amid the benevolent congress of Delaware deities corresponds to that of the Devil's advocate. Before, however, we can admit the tradition as one having historical significance, a wiser analysis and wider comparison of the elements of the major ceremonies of the eastern Indians will have to be invoked. Nevertheless there seems to be a feeling current among some of the religious men with whom I talked that the Big House Ceremony has absorbed some imperfections and that this is one. Half Moon himself even went so far as to declare that the decline of the ceremony as well as of the Delaware Nation, was due to the transgression of accepting an Evil Force as part-sharer of the

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

worship in the Big House. I might add, as contributing a view-point on the same perplexing question, that early in the eighteenth century the missionary Brainerd, then living with the Delawares on the upper Susquehanna in their village near Sunbury, reported a conversation with a man of the Nation in which was embodied a similar opinion as regards the False Face.

In a section of my study of the Big House Ceremony I indulged in quoting some estimates of the religious spirit among the Delawares adding some of my own impressions in the matter. An opportunity to add to these, since it comes from the writings of a contemporary witness over a century ago when the tribe was resident on the Scioto River, comes from John Brickell. He says: "I know I am influenced to good even at this day more from what I learned among them than what I learned among people of my own color. . . . They worship the Great Spirit whom they call manito, which signifies or conveys to their mind the idea of all strength or rather all sufficiency." [3] This commentary may be adjoined as a supplement to the section in the work referred to, dealing also with the native concept of the Great Spirit, as something corroborative of the early belief of this tribe in the existence of a supreme deity and is intended for the eyes of authorities such as Dr. Schmidt who have devoted so much attention to the nativity of the concept in American culture.

In the study of the Big House Ceremony some space was devoted to the construction of the belief regarding the path taken by the soul in its journey from earth to the spirit realm. The assumption was made that the Milky Way was considered to be the path in question. Yet the inability on the part of several sources to furnish the native term applied to the Milky Way and their uncertainty as to what symbol in the sky represented the path of the spirit left the matter in a state of doubt. The fact that among other Algonkian peoples the Milky Way is "Spirit or Ghost Path" has some bearing on the point that we are trying to clear up in Delaware belief. It remained for inquiry among the Delaware-Munsee of the Six

[3] "Narrative of John Brickell's Captivity among the Delaware Indians," *The American Pioneer*, I, 2d ed., Cincinnati, 1842, pp. 43, 46, 48, 56.

THE GREASE DRINKING CEREMONY, THE BEAR RITE

796 *A·'kq'ce·i·k·a'wan*, "brush shed or arbor". The name is derived from the roofed shed in which several accounts tell us the rite was celebrated. Harrington gives the title "*Papasokwi''lun*", without offering an explanation of the term. Its proper form is *pəpa''suk·wi·'hil·an*, "they rise up and take part", meaning that the men invited to assist the bringer-in of the ceremony do so by reciting their visions, as is done in the Big House. This term is not exclusively applicable to the Bear or Brush Arbor rite but denotes any of the feasts of the usual Delaware pattern in which the men who have had visions take part in the ritual to bring on the spiritual blessings as an aid to the purpose of the owner of the ceremony. Furthermore the term given by Parks for the Bear ceremony, "undah ah-ke wunnumong," properly *e'nda axki·kɔn·u'muwaŋg*, "when they engage in trials of spiritual experiences," also applies, as does the preceding term, to family feasts of the general Delaware pattern emphasized long ago by Zeisberger whose description is quoted in the introductory section.

I am treating this ceremony as a definite rite intended for the placation of the bear. Everything in the several accounts of the rite that we have points to this manifest purpose, yet some uncertainty prevails in the minds of several authorities in regard to discrepancies in the details of performance in the memory of those who have contributed accounts. At present, I should incline to regard the variant descriptions as referring to different phases of the ceremony. In view of the differences, not to force Wi·tapano'xwe's version as having final and exclusive identity, as he records it, I have included in footnotes the quotations of those whose versions differ.[1]

[173]

[1] Harrington (*op. cit.*, p. 172) gives the traditional origin of the ceremony as follows: "The Indians say that a cub bear, kept by a Lenape family long ago, became a great playmate of the little sons of the family, but finally grew so large

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

The tale in which a bear figures as the character influencing 796*
the social or religious destinies of a family is common through-
out the eastern Algonkian area. Its present recorded range of

that the child's parents decided to get rid of it; so they tied a little bag of tobacco [773]
around its neck and told it to go away. This it did, but the little boy, its play-
mate, soon fell ill, and his parents searched in vain for a cure. After a long while
one of the Indian doctors told his parents that if they would hold a ceremony of
this kind and repeat it every two years, the child would keep his health. This
was done; the boy recovered, and his family, who belong to the Wolf phratry, have
continued to practise the rites ever since, believing that it preserves their health."

The following version was obtained from Mr. J. A. Parks, Copan, Oklahoma, in 1930, through correspondence.

"The bear ceremony is mentioned by Harrington in his work on the 'Religion and Ceremonies of the Lenape.' Harrington's account is more or less correct. However, in this respect it is wrong: it is the *Otter* Ceremony which is held in the brush arbor, and not the *Bear* Ceremony. The writer saw the bear ceremony held at the home of Colonel Jackson, who was chief of the Turkey Clan, about thirty-five years ago.

"The leader of the ceremony takes the turtle-shell rattle in his hand and walks slowly around the fire (Pl. 2). As he goes along, he shakes the shell rattle and sings or chants an account of some vision he has at some time in his life experienced. At the same time, an attendant goes to the brass kettle hanging on the fire pole, which contains pure grease; he dips up some of the grease with a cup, and pours it into the pail held in his left hand. Then he goes in the opposite direction to that of the man singing and shaking the rattle. When they meet, the attendant hands the singer a cup full of the grease, who drinks a little of it and pours the rest into the fire, or, he may, if he should see some one among those present whose father was or is a member of the same clan as his father, take the cup of grease and give it to her or him, who then must drink a little of the grease and pour the rest in the fire. The party whom he obliges to do that might happen to be some bashful young boy or girl, who is, of course, abashed, which causes amusement and laughter.

"After this, the singer goes on with his walk and chant; the attendant moves in the opposite direction and, when they meet again, the same performance is repeated. When that man has finished, another man takes the shell and goes through the same performance, and so on, one after another, until all of the men who care to take part have taken part."

(A water-color painting of this rite by Mr. Parks, the author of the above notes, is in the University of Pennsylvania Museum. See Pl. 2.)

Unfortunately, Zeisberger (*op. cit.*, p. 138) devotes but little more than a single sentence to what is possibly a reference to the ceremony in question. He writes: "At another feast, a certain voracious spirit who is never satisfied is honored. The guests are required to eat all the bear's flesh and to drink the melted fat. Though indigestion and vomiting may result they must continue and not leave anything."

Heckewelder (*op. cit.*, p. 212) says: "There are even some animals, which though they are not considered as invested with power over them, yet are believed to be placed as guardians over their lives; and of course entitled to some notice and to some tokens of gratitude."

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

X 796 distribution embraces the Wabanaki peoples where the bear episode reaches a high point of importance as a social explanatory tale. Here the tale concerns a child, lost by its parents, abducted by a she-bear who nouriahes the foundling for almost a year before traces are found leading to its recovery and to the death of the bear foster-mother, but not until the bear has imposed the taboo of never killing she-bears upon the restored child and his descendants. The Wabanaki peoples seem, however, never to have developed the cult of the bear among the posterity of the hero of the tale. The Delawares did, and this, together with the identical tale of abduction, makes the Delaware case most interesting from the point of view of historical interpretation.[1]

Without attempting to deal with the possibilities of theory in the case of this tale and its associations in the northeast, we may proceed to assemble the Delaware information. It begins with the narrative of the Bear Abductor [2] to account for the association formed between the bear and a certain human family in which is passed down the obligation to perform a rite called the Brush Arbor ceremony by some, the Bear Ceremony by others.

In explanation of the ceremony and its history among the

[1] The distribution of an essentially similar tale throughout Europe and Asia not as a mythical narrative but as an historical event of contemporary reality would make an interesting theme for study. For instance, as late as the Sept. 30, 1931, issue of the *Boston Herald* it is reported as an actual occurrence in Russia.

● [173] [2] A small boy lost in the woods was found by a woman with two children who took him home. She proved to be a bear with cubs who lived in a tree-trunk. When finally discovered and rescued by the people the boy had acquired some ursine habits. The she-bear was killed but the cubs were raised as pets. When they grew large they were released with a wampum string around their necks to dissolve the relationship between owner and pet lest calamity befall. A ceremony of release from possible sickness was thus founded which continued in the family of the little boy.

The first portion of the tale is told by R. C. Adams ("Legends of the Delaware Indians," Washington, 1905, pp. 61–3) in a somewhat embellished form. A full version of this significant tradition is again part of a collection obtained recently from the Delaware-Munsee of the Six Nations, Ontario, during investigation carried out by the writer through a grant of the Faculty Research Fund, Univ. of Penna. Here it is also an important historical myth, though it is not connected with the foundation of a cult festival as in the case under consideration among the Oklahoma Delawares. Where and when did the latter incorporate the feature of a family feast-rite into the ancient narrated event?

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

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ORIGIN LEGEND OF BEAR OR BRUSH ARBOR CEREMONY

Lɔ'mwe nɔtci· wendausi·'eŋgʷ kwut·enau''ki la•'ke-
Long ago since beginning of our life one kind cere-

yɔk·ɑn lowe•'nhaŋgʷ e'nda wi·hi'ltiŋg ɔk
mony is said, so said when named [by the people] and

xa'n·e• lowenda's·u axkɑ'ce·i·k·a'wɑn. Yu'kwe kɑn-
accordingly is called brush-shed. Now recent-

dju'kwe e'nda la'xauɔ'xən·e•k' yu·'li·l keni·i·'
ly when at the forks these [rivers] Caney

si·'powa' na'ne' ta'li· taɔ'ŋgan e•'li· ne•'ki·k'
creeks there where was lost [the rite] because these

e•lhake''ti·t' ne'k·e lɑk'hi·'k·wi· pɔlɑ'ci·ma•'nɑ
conducting the ceremony at that time [it seems] Frenchman

wi·'taema't·tci· tɔl·ha'k·e•n. me•'tci· yu'kwe we•kwi·'-
his wife it was her ceremony. Now then they are

ne•yu'ŋga. Yu'kwe yu'ni· la•k·eyɔ'k·ɑn ni'·cenau''kat'
all dead now. Now this ceremony is divided into two parts

we'ndji·ki·ci·mgɔ't·ɔk. a'lande lɔ'mwe awe•ni'ŋgaxke
from which it originated. Some long time ago persons now dead

i·'yap'tci· e'nda awe•'n ke'ko liŋgwe-
caused when creature-thing [appearing] in form

hel·alu'k·uk te•'kɔnaye's·a'. ɔk xa'ne• kwu't·en-
of vision as a wild animal. And although one kind

au''ki· e'nda oxtca'nɔnd' ma'xk'ʷtɔt'. me•'tci· e'nda
or form. when having a pet little bear. Now when

ki·ci·'ki·t' na'lu'we•n pɑ'k·i·tanehi·'ne•n wa'ni· talɔ-
full grown then it was said "Let us turn it free this our

mu·'s·ɔna t·'t·a te•'kɔne. me•'tci· ke•xu'k·wɔnak·e't·e
pet so[illegible]here in the wilds." Now when it was full-grown

na' wi·xka'u[illegible] tɔ'hi·'pa'lsi·n kwu't·i· mi·'mɑs
then suddenly became sick one child

xkwe'tcɔtc. nace•' nen'pi·'k·e•s wendji·'mɑn. e'nda
young woman, girl. Then sweat-doctor sent for. When

pɔ'n·dji·t' pi·mowa'k·aniŋ na' mɔ'xkamən tɔli·'
he entered sweat-house then it was discovered that

maiŋga'lkwun ne•'li·l ɔ'xtcana's·a' na'
there was sympathetic relation between these pet, and then

[1] Caney Creek; name borrowed from English.

796 lu'we·n yu'kwe hwtɑk·i·'i· pa·'ṭ·ətc nɑtc' pəmɑ'ṭ·un-
539 it was said from here backward he came then to plead

773 ha·'lan, ɔk ke'ko naxpa·'p'tunha·'lan na'li''
spiritually. And whatever thing they offer with prayer they then

paxki·'tanehi·'n te·'kane.
turn [the animal] free in the woods.

Ce·'la hyu'ni· la·p'tu'naxgat' e'ndɑ pəmɑ'ṭ·un-
Because that here are the instructions when pleading spirit-

ha·'lənd' te·kəna'yes ge't·a paxki·'lənd'
ually with wild animal in order to prepare to secure aid from him

lo·'we·n. ɔk na li· wi·'hil·a·n e·lowe'sí·t'. "me·'tci·ta'
they say. And then call him by name. "Now then

i'k·amaxte·'xɑn təli·' me·'tci· paxkandji·'ki·n. me·'tci·
the time has come that now you are full-grown. Now

kəni·'hi·l·a't'amɑ ce·'lahəne'n·i· pe·'mi·te·'kəne·k.
you are at your maturity this is what your life has come to.

ngwi·s nane'' kwu'ndji·ai·n nane'' tə'p·i·n ki·t'ha'k·e.
My son there you belong where dwells your fellow tribesman.

yu'kwe ce·la'yu'ki·k' ke·'kɔk k'naxpo·'xwe·n.
Here now there these wampum you shall carry with you as you walk.

ɔk tə'li· kenaxki·'xkwun tə't·a e·'ləmuk·wəna'k·a
And because it will protect you for time to come

se·'kausi·yan. pə'nae·'ləndaməŋ yu'kwe yu'ni· ni·'lo·na
as long as you live. Consider now now this given to us

mi·łkwu's·ieŋg· wi·'ki·eŋg· ɔk pə'nae·ləma'ɔk yu'ki·k
our gift our home and think about them these

ce· xi·'s·əmus·ɑk' ɔk xɑ's·ɑk. kɑ'tci· na't·e·lə-
those younger brothers and elder brothers. Do not worry

mi·'heŋg· wu'ndji· ma't·a pe·'xosi·kako·'ne·n ke'ko
about us that if not we might be overcome thing

mat·awe·'łtɑk cuk' pə'nae'ləma k'ha'k·ai·' təli·'te
not good but evil but think of yourself, that will

ke·'p·e' ik·ali'tci· pe'tci· ɔlama'lsi·n. me·'tci·
yourself in time to come you will enjoy health. Now

te'p·i·laha'p'a e'nxa·p'tune·ya.
sufficient for now what I have to say this time.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

THE LOST BOY ADOPTED BY A SHE-BEAR

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e'nda pi·laye'tcɑtc' tɑɔ'ŋgalɔk' ma'xko nɔnoʷ'nɑk'.
When boy lost bear adopted.

ɔk cɔm'utc' lɔ'mwe mi·'mǫs tɑɔ'ŋgɑł lowe'ʷ'nhaŋgʷ
And also by the way long ago child lost it was said,

pi·laye'tcɑtc' i·ya'p'tci· e'nda papi'xti·t' mi·mǫ'sɑk
boy during while playing with children

te'ʷ'kɑne'. nanɑkwu't·i· wi·xka'utci· namaʷ'laʷn tɔ'li·
in woods. Then one suddenly they noticed that

ma't·a wi·tc'kɑneʷ'wɑn te'xi· ma't·a nɔteʷ'lɔmayuwa'o
not with the rest of them really not pay attention to him

neʷ'ki·k' mi·mǫ'sɑk. meʷ'tci· e'nda lɔ'kwi·k' na'kɔ-
those children. Now when evening it was

nɔndj hwi·'kayo'yɔma to'lɔmatu'ni·keʷne'ʷyɔ kwu't·i
then his elders [parents] they began to hunt one

t'pu'kwe la'p·i· ɔ'p·ɑŋge kwut·i·gi·'ckwe.
night next morning all day.

xa'n·ki· keʷxu'kwuni· nalowe'ʷn "meʷ'tci· nu'tckwe
Finally several days it was said "Now useless

nat·ona'wɔna'. meʷ'tci· et' awe'ʷn aye's·ɔɔ·[1] wuni'-
to search for him. Now evidently creature animal he has been

hilɑɔ'ŋgan." mat·a kwun·i·'i· neʷ'li· nut'xani·k·we't'
killed by." Not long afterward while hunting squirrels

kwu't·i·ski·'n·u wi·xka'utci· neʷlo'xwe't' laʷmci'ŋge na'
one young man suddenly while walking in woods then

wun·eʷ'yɔn awe'ʷni·k' peʷ'paʷp'hat·i'xti·t'. ahalɔwi·'i·
saw some creatures playing about. More and more

ki·'xki· li·' ki·mhɔ'k·e. meʷ'tci· ki·'xkitci· pa't·e
closely secretly crept up. Now close by coming

kekota'l·a kwu't·i· awe'ʷn lɔnaʷ'p·e. na tɔli·' nɑna'ɔn
here the thing was one person human. There as he recognized him

nale't'ma na'ni· pi·'lɔtcɑtc' kɑn·dju'k·ʷʷ eʷ'loweŋg
that it was that boy recently as said

tɑɔ'ŋgɑł. meʷ'tci· e'nda ap·a'tci·t' wi·'ki·t' nani·'
was lost. Now when he returned home then

aki·'n·u na tɔl·atci·'mwi·n. lo'weʷ "i'k·ali· e'nda
young man then he spread the news. He said "Down there where

[1] Note that the animal is spoken of as a human being.

x 796 539 xi'ŋgwi· ci'ŋge·k ne·'yɔ pe·wi'tci·pa·'pi·t' na'ni·
big forest I saw playing with him [a bear] that

● 773 pi·'laye'tcɔtc' e·'loweŋg tɑɔ'ŋgɑl." e'nda we·'ta'kɔn-
boy who was said to be lost." When he told his story

u't·iŋg lo'we· "xi'ŋgwi· nani· hi't·uk ɔk pohe·'s·u
and explained he said "Big the tree and hollow

a'hi· hukwe·'yuŋg na'ne kɑ'n·da p'kwu's·i·n." lowe·'
very high up there up where hole in tree." He said

"ngi·'mhɔla'wɔk' na'ne nɔwu'ndji· ga'ski· wuli·'ne·yɔn
"I crept up on him that is why I could well see him

cuk' nama·'lkuk' ɔk ca·'i· pɔndji·hil·e·'yuk
but they noticed me and right away they ran into the hole

hi't·'kuŋg." na' ca·'i· we·hɔm·a'ɔn kwi·'kayo'yɔma.
the tree." Then right away they notified his old man [parent].

me·'tci· e'nda we·'mi· awe·'n we'u's·i·t' na' maye·'-
Now when every body knew of it then they called

ma·n lə'n·owak. na' ca·'e ik·alo'lti·n
together the men. Then right away there they all went

seka'kɔnd. na'lowe·n "me·'tci·ta wei·'tɔt'
last time seen at that spot. Then it was said, "Now it is expected that

kɔnup'ho'mɔna e·'li· kowato·'ne·n na'ni· nu'cae'hɔme *
we are in danger because we know that female bear with cubs

ma'xta·pe·'yɔ e'nda nuce·'i·t'."
* very mean when she has young."

Me'tci· e'nda nama·'s·i·t' nani·' nu·caye'hɔme
Now when he noticed that female bear with cubs

na' ca·'e ikɑ́' wu'ndji a'lɔmi li·xaxku·'s·i·n. e'nda
at once there from began to climb down. When

m'i·tci·'hi·l·a·t na' ca·'e ik·a'wundji pas·kwul·a'ɔn.
she came in sight right away from there shot her off the tree.

nace·' awe·'n aloka·'lan tə'li· kɔn·da'ku's·i·n hi't'-
And then some one they appointed to climb up on

kuŋg ɔk təli·' li·'xɔna·n ne'li·l pi·layetcɔ'tca'. ɔk
tree and to take down that boy. And

* *e'hɔme* generic term for "bear kind," or genus Ursus; *xi'ŋgwe'hɔme* "big bear," or male bear.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

ənahəli·' we·'mi· enxu'ce·t maxtə't·a' na'ka ne'heland nu'cae'me·'yu.
also all the litter little bears deceased killed mother bear.

796x
539
773

e'nda hwtəki·i·' pe·'cəwənd na'ni mi·'mqs na'
When back home they brought that child and

a'ləmi·' əxtca·'na·n ne·'ki·k maxk'wtə'tak. mat·ak-
began to pet those little bears. Not so very

wəni·i·' na' tələmi·' atci·'mwi·n na'ni· pi·laye'tcətc.
long after then began telling his story the boy.

lowe·'hund "ni· ni·hila'tci də'l'si·n da'tc'iŋ xe·yɔ'k·an
He said they say "I myself was cause my disobedience

wundji· nhi·'land na'ka ma'xko gahe's·əna'na."
why was killed defunct bear our mother."

lo'we· "ke·xu'k·wuni· nəwi·'nowa'muk na'ka ma'xko
He said, "Several days she pleaded with me defunct bear

lo'we· na'nen sɔ'k·i· məli·'mwi·n. də'luk' 'ni·'tcan
she said that all the while cried. She said 'my child

me'tci· ma't·a kwun·i·'i· kəna·'ponałke'hen·a cuk'
now not long before they are coming upon us but

yu'kwea·' sa'kənəma'ni· yu'ni skwə'nde ne'ni· ki·p'
now if you raise up in sight in this entrance that your arrow

na· yu'kwe ma't·a ni·łke·'wan.' də'luk 'alə'p·a'
and here now not would kill me.' She said, 'tomorrow

ne·'sko paxa'k·we·k natc pe·lti·n' lowe·'. ako'·
before noon then they will be here,' she said. Did not

ha'ci· djəp·i·na'o na'ni gahe's·əna ɔk ne·'ki·k
never I discover what they were that one our mother and those

·nəxi·'səmə's·ak kandj nayu' ki·'ekwi·k natc nəma'-
my brothers younger until this very day then they

xka·ke·nen. ge'hel·a haŋg· ci·elə'ndam e·'li nu'lax-
found us. Certainly as said I am sorry because I was well

tca·'huk ɔk nu'li·pəndə'o e'nda ke'ko li·t' gahe·s·ə-
treated and I understood when something said our

na'na."
mother."

Nane' ki·'ekwi·k e'nda t'ho'nand nain·' pi·laye'-
That day when captured the boy

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

x 796 539 1773 tcɔtc hwtɔk·i·'i· pe·cowa·' wi·'ki·t ɔk nahɔli·'
back home brought him his home and besides

ne·'ki·k' maxk'wtə'tɔk nace·' a'lɔmi· oxtca·'na·n
the little bears right away began to pet them

ne·'ki·k ma'xkɔk. xa'nt'ki· tɔli·' gi·ci·ki·ne·'yo.
the bears. And finally until full grown they were.

nalowe·'n me'tci· gi·'ci·kohaulana'nɔk yu'kwe kowa·-
And it was said, "Now we have raised them now , you

to·'nen ci·kwi·ne·'yɔk takuw' wɔli·xɔno·'wi· tə'li·
know they are orphans it is not right that

pa'xki·tanihi·'ne·n kandj hi'tami· pɔmɔto'nha·lə'nde.
we turn them loose until first we must perform a ceremony.

ɔk li·'xan tɔli'tc naxpaŋgoma·'ne·n na'ni·
And it is the rule that also we give with ceremony something of worth the

te·kɔna'yes· ke'ko." nace·' hukweni·ho·'la·n we·'mi·
wild animal something." And then they put around his neck all

enxi'xti·ti ne·'ki·k ma'xkɔk ke·'k'w.
in number as the bears wampum.

"Metci· elaŋgo·'mɔleŋg i'k·a pe·te·'lɔmuko·'ne·n
"Now[1] our relation it has come our time

tə'li· mi·'lkwus·i·n ɔk hwtɔk·i·'i· mi·'l·ɔn·e·n ɔ'nda
to you to be given and back we give you when

ni·'hilatci· ni·hi·lat·ɔma·'n. cuk' wa'ni· ce· xa'sowa
yourself your freedom. But this that your brother

pi·laye'tcɔtc nayu'ni· wundji·'aii·n. ki·lo'wa xan·e·'
boy here he belongs. But you yourselves

muxomsa'xtuk' hwtɔki·'i· te·'kɔne kta'ham·u e·'li·
our grandfathers back in wilderness you are going because

na'ne wundji·a'yu k'ha'k·ai. ɔk kɔnaxpaŋgo·'mɔlə'-
that is where you belong yourselves. And we give this ceremonially

n·e·n ni·lu'na lɔna·pe·'yɔk yu'ni· ke·'k'w kut·e·'ha·n
to you we the Delawares this wampum your heart

ma·'mca·li·e'ŋgwɔtc k'te'p·i· lu'we· yutɔ'c·e· do''pi·n
when you think of us you can say back here live

elaŋgo·'mɔk. cuk ma't·ɔtc' tci·tc' pe·'xus·hi'k·ne-
my relatives. But do not any more approach us

[1] This address is to the bears.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

ho'mona e"li· na'lən·e kəna'xpe"ləmu'k·un təli·'tc 796[x] 539 773
because that [wampum] will take care of you that

te"'kone tala'usi·. ok ne'ni·ce" ke"'k'" ke"'naxki·'·
in wilderness you must live. And that wampum will take care of

xpun ik·ali'tci· pe"'tci· o'lamalsi·'tun. ok
you [in sorrow] if you in future comes your guardian of health. And

one"'pena wu'ndji ma't·a pe"xo'si·hik·ako'wone"n
we also henceforth not be overcome by

ke'ko ma't·a we'ltuk. me'tci· laha'p·a muxo'"msa
anything not good. Now again grandfather

te'p·i· enxa'p'to"ne'ya wəlaŋgo'səwi· li·'. wani'ci·."
enough I have to say in friendship way. Thanks."

Free Translation.

A long time ago, in the beginning of our existence, there was one kind of ceremony, it is said, named by the people and called Brush Arbor. Now, in recent times, when the Delawares were living at the forks of Caney Creek, it was lost because of the master of ceremony who at the time was the wife of Frenchman whose ceremony it was. Now, they are all dead. Now, this ceremony is divided into two parts whence it originated. One being, long time ago, caused by persons, now dead, to whom a creature appeared in the form of a vision as a wild animal. And the other kind résulted from having a pet, a little bear. Now, when it was full grown it was said, "Let us turn our pet loose somewhere in the wilds." And when it was grown up suddenly a child, a young woman, became sick. Then the sweat doctor was sent for. When he entered the sweat-house it was discovered that there was a sympathetic relation between the two, the pet and the child and it was said that the pet was spiritually pleading with her. And that they should offer something with a prayer as a sacrifice and liberate the animal in the woods. For these are the instructions when pleading spiritually with a wild animal in order to secure aid from him, it is said, and then call him by name saying, "Now then the time has come when you are full grown. Now you are at your maturity which is what your life has developed into.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

My son, you belong there in the wilderness, where dwell your kind. Now you shall carry this wampum as you go along and that will protect you in the future as long as you live. Consider well now that our home is given to us as a natural gift and think about these younger and older brothers. Do not worry about us that we might be overcome by evil, but think of yourself that you yourself may in the future enjoy health. Now this is all I have to say at this time."

THE LOST BOY ADOPTED BY A SHE-BEAR

When the lost boy was adopted by a bear. And also long ago a child, it is said, was lost. It was a boy, while playing with children in the woods. Then one, they suddenly noticed was not with the rest of them. The other children had really paid no attention to him. Now, when it was evening his parents began to hunt for him, all night and the next day. Finally after several days it was said, "Now it is vain to search for him. Evidently some wild animal has killed him." Not long afterward, while hunting squirrels, a young man suddenly walking in the woods saw some creatures playing about. Closer and closer he crept up secretly. Now coming close by, there was the creature—a human being. There as he recognized him, seeing that it was the boy who was recently said to have been lost. Now when he returned home the young man spread the news. He said, "Down there where the big forest is, I saw playing together a bear and the boy said to have been lost." When he told his story and explained it he said, "There is a big tree there and a hollow very high up, a hole up there in the tree." Said he, "I crept up on him, that is how I could see him well. But they noticed me and ran back into the hole in the tree right away." Then at once they notified his parents. And when everybody knew of it they called the men together. Then they all went at once to the spot where he was seen the last time. Then it was said, "Now we expect to be in danger because we know that a female bear with cubs is very savage when she has young." Now, when the female bear noticed them, she at once began to climb down from where she was. When she came in sight they shot her off the tree at once and then

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

someone was induced to climb up into the tree that he might bring down the boy, and also the litter of little bears of the now dead mother bear they had killed.

Then they brought the child back home and made pets of the little bears. Not long after, then the boy proceeded to tell his story. It is told that he said, "I myself, through my disobedience, was the cause of the bear, our mother, being killed." He said, "Several times she pleaded with me, the dead bear, speaking while she cried. She said, 'My child, it will not be long before they come upon us. But now if you raise up your arrow in sight in the entrance here, they will not kill me.' She said, 'Tomorrow, before noon, they will be here.' I did not discover what they were, our mother and brothers (the bears) until the very day that they found us. Certainly, as one would say, I am sorry because I was well treated and I could understand when our mother (the bear) said anything."

From the day that the boy was captured and brought back to his home where he lived, together with the little bears, they began right away to make pets of the bears, and thenceforth until they were full grown. And then, it was said, "Now we have raised them, yet you know they are orphans and it is no right to turn them loose until first a ceremony of pleading has been performed. And it is the rule that we offer a worthy sacrifice to the wild animal with something. And then they put wampum around their necks, each one of the bears.

"Now, our relation, it has come to be our time that you be given back, when you yourself we give you freedom. But this boy, your brother, belongs here, but as for you yourselves, grandfathers, back into the wilderness you are going by yourselves. And we, the Delawares, offer this wampum to you ceremonially as your heart. When you think of us you can say, 'Back there live our relations.' But do not approach us any more because that wampum will take care of you in the future, in case sorrow comes, as your guardian of health. And henceforth, we also shall not be overcome by anything evil. Now, once again, grandfather, I have said enough in the way of friendship. Thanks!"

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

THE DOLL DANCE CEREMONY

Ozta'uska"n, "DOLL DANCE"

The following ceremony is one of major significance among the Delawares. It embodies the idea of appeasing the latent ill-will of the Spirit of Corn, aroused through innocent familiarity incurred in the past between the children of certain families and this sensitive Manitto. It typifies, accordingly, one of the family feast ceremonies corresponding in motive with the grease drinking ceremonies, treated previously, in which the idea of placating an offended nature-force lies at bottom. Like the ceremonies mentioned in connection with the bear and the otter, it is obligatory among the descendants of the families who first formed the baneful associations with these spirit-forces, that the ceremonies be fulfilled according to the traditional regulations [1] to secure for them immunity from sickness and other evils of existence. And in conformity with ceremonies of this type we have a tale of origin explaining the mythological event that brought the condition about. This tale will be given shortly. We are told, for instance, that it was forbidden anciently for persons, especially children, to play with cornhusks or other parts of the sacred grain. As the tale narrates, certain children did so without the knowledge of those who would have prevented them. A disease affected them. When the medicine man had been called upon to ascertain its cause he informed them that the sanctity of "mother corn" had been violated, corn being the principal food supply of man provided by the Great Spirit. Even when unintentionally violated by children, he divined, their parents would have to stand the consequences. To remove the consequences a ceremony was prescribed in which dolls representing the Spirit of Corn were feasted and danced periodically among the families descended from children in-

[1] The formal term in Delaware is *kula'kan*, "restriction," equivalent to the more general designation "taboo."

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

volved in the act of desecration as long as they existed. Thus originated the ceremony.

At the present time (1932) we are told there are three of these dolls held by Delaware families. They should be, according to the rulings, furnished with a feast and dance annually. The Delawares still do so as occasion permits, this being one of the ceremonies most recently performed in the Nation. Dr. V. M. Petrullo observed the rite in the summer of 1930. The dolls themselves are kept in the families in which they have descended with their ceremonial obligations for so long that they are held in an attitude of combined reverence and fear. That the ceremony has become a burden to the possessor of dolls is evident, but there being no means open to them to dismiss the obligation under which they have fallen without incurring still deeper animosity of Mother Corn, the rites must be maintained until some event warrants the abandoning of them. In several cases it is recalled that individuals who possessed the dolls in the past had the dolls buried with them upon request. In such cases the obligation to perform the dance ceased. In other cases the doll image and the ritual obligation was transferred to the oldest blood relation or to another relative whom the owner regarded as being most worthy of taking charge of the obligation and capable of conducting the ceremony. It is understood that the three images in the Nation at the present time may be accorded the honor of the feast ceremony all at the same time, being brought together by their owners upon the occasion called by the master of ceremonies. Some of these figures are male and some female. They are dressed in cloth as Delaware style requires with bead-work or ribbon-work and the faces painted in red which is rubbed off when the ceremony is over.

As regards the history of the Doll Ceremony we have no succinct facts to go by. Certain of the Indians themselves point out its similarity to the Bread Dance of the Shawnee.[1] What the two rites may be discovered to have in common might subsequently lead to a suggestion as to their earlier

[1] To be tested by data on Shawnee rites obtained by Dr. and Mrs. C. F. Voegelin.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

relationship, but of this we are still at a loss to form an idea. The references to pagan family feasts sketchily provided in the narratives of the early missionaries among the Delawares, would definitely point to the existence of a rite of this type in the tribe when it was still resident in the east.

The following is Wi·tapano'xwe's outline of the origin tale referred to just previously accounting for the acquisition of the ceremony in the family of his grandmother, Mawa't·e·s, a Munsee woman who was the owner of a doll image and ceremony.

"A little girl of long ago was in the habit of playing with the corn. She would take the shucks and the end of a corncob with its silk and fashion a doll, the silk forming the hair, baring part of the cob to represent the face, and arranging the shucks to represent its dress, in the likeness of a human being. Several children imitated her action and took up playing with similar dolls. The first child was taken sick and became very ill. They sent for a medicine man. He pronounced her illness as being a result of violating laws imposed upon man's behavior in relation to the Spirit of Corn by the Great Spirit. He then told the parents of these children that the sickness could be cured by performing a feast once a year during the child's lifetime and transmitting it down through posterity to prevent return of the malady. The particulars governing the conduct of the feast and ceremony, as well as the details of construction and dress of the doll images to be used in the celebration, were all prescribed in the vision of the medicine man. The families were told to watch closely over the condition of the dolls, to keep their clothing in good repair and well decorated, and to renew it each year on the occasion of the feast. The songs of the ceremony were revealed in detail, there being six for the men participants and six for the women. They were told to provide the feast by killing a beef and a hog for the guests. Also to clear up a large dance ground at some suitable place in the open, likewise to provide at one end of the clearing a seat for the singers and a tent nearby to serve as a lodge for the master of ceremonies. A chief preferably but not necessarily of the same ceremonial group was to be invited to act as master of ceremonies, or *elha'k·e'l*, 'one who brings it in.' His aides were to be a woman invited to lead the dancers of her sex, a man to lead the men, and a fire-keeper, called *pu'lcal*, whose duty included the cooking of hominy and meat for the feast. Each of these attendants was to receive a yard ('shoulder to tip of finger length') of wampum for his services. Two drummers were also to be invited to sing and beat upon the folded deer-hide drum. They, too, were to receive the same amount of wampum. The chief invited to act as master of ceremonies would open the occasion with an address of instruction

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

796 773 539 and admonition and close it with another. His duties also were to include the enforcement of order during the night of the ceremony, to encourage the people to participate in the dancing, and to see that all went smoothly and reverently until after midnight when the twelve formal chants of the men and women dancers had been completed, after which those present could spend the rest of the night until sunrise in the enjoyment of social dances of their own selection. His ceremonial pay was also a yard of wampum. The master of ceremonies was expected to refer in his opening address to the great event of the year as fall approaches, of the ripening of the corn, to the expectation on the part of the owners of 'our grandmothers,'[3] the dolls, that the dolls be fed with sacred food, hominy and meat. He was to recite how they were going to dance the twelve ceremonial dances representing the twelve months of the year, beginning about seven o'clock and ending at midnight. He was to instruct them how the dances were to alternate between the men and the women, the women having the first dance, how the appointed woman was to lead her participants and the man his. And how the man leader was to dance around the circle carrying one of the images and the women around another circle outside the line of the men dancers behind their leader carrying another of the dolls. Between dances the dolls were to be fastened on poles about five feet high placed in front of the tent that was the headquarters of the master of ceremonies. The prescribed musical instrument for the ceremony was to be the deer-hide drum, and turtle rattles for the leaders. A pole was to be supported upon props over the fire and the feasting kettle hung from it. At one end of the pole was also to be hung the drum when it was being beaten. The next speech of the master of ceremonies, to be given about midnight, was to include thanks to the Great Spirit for the blessing brought them by the ceremony, admonishing those present to conduct their behavior properly, to avoid drunkenness and irreverence. He was to render thanks likewise to the sun, 'our brother,' for his light, to the stars for theirs, and to all the spirits on earth for their blessings and care over us in life, to our grandmothers, the cornhusk dolls, the guardians of health who must be paid once a year by the ceremony for their spiritual aid. His instructions in closing his address were also to refer to the duties of the six selected male and six female leaders (these being relatives of the leader both by blood and within the ceremonial grouping) who should stand at sunrise facing the east with the dishes of food in their hands. They were also to sweep away the ashes from the fireplace and carry all to one side, then put the fire out. In his final address he was to refer to the twelve, male and female, dance leaders who are holding the dishes of food toward the sunrise, as rever-

[3] To explain the use of the relationship terms, grandmother and mother, the informant stated that the food, corn, is older than the dolls, whence the abstraction of grandmother in some cases.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

enced attendants inspired by the Great Spirit whose duty is to help the leader in the interest of their family ceremony. He was to tell them that when he had said 'ready' the holders of the dishes of food should make a sideways swinging motion with the dishes saying, '*Hyu'*, *hyu'*, *he e*,' twelve times. At the last time of the utterance they were to lay down the dishes of food making motions as if they were going to throw the food upon a tarpaulin spread nearby upon the dance ground for the people standing waiting to receive it. The bread was so to be thrown for the people to try to catch it if they could. The corn bread (*xaskwi'a'pan*) was to be made in representation of a human form; in the shape of a man complete with arms, legs and head symbolising the Corn Spirit. Another was to be made in the form of a bear about a foot in length, symbolising the stars and constellations to bring to mind the myth relative to the sky bear and the end of the world.[4] Upon each of the corn bread figures, the man and the bear, was to be placed a yard of wampum tied about the neck. Then as the twelve attendants stood in a row, the one standing on the south end of the line facing the sun was to hold the bear figure, the one on the north the human figure. The rest of the people do not know who are to hold these figures. They were instructed to throw the two figures of corn bread so as to cross each other in the air for the spectators to try and catch them. Those who did were to keep the wampum tied about the images, the successful ones thus receiving a yard of wampum as a ceremonial act. This last event was to take place just before the sun made its appearance on the horizon. Then all fell upon the food consuming it, except members of families owning the dolls. This was to end the ceremony after which all should go home and live properly until the ceremony is called for the next year. The rules required that in the case of death in the family the oldest in line next takes up the responsibility of the ceremony. Should he not wish to continue it it should be buried with him including the dolls which were to be referred to in such a case as 'orphans' since they have no one to care for them."

Harrington has also treated the Doll Dance. The tale accounting for its origin which he recorded differs in some details from the version given. It is as follows:[5]

"Long ago, the Lenape say, some children, playing with sticks, decided to cut faces upon them, and were then very much surprised to notice that the little dolls which they had thus made seemed to have life. Their parents made them throw the dolls away when they dis-

[4] A Delaware belief: when the bear (Ursa major) catches up with his severed head (a constellation not identified, corona borealis or Boötes) the earth will come to an end. Indeed, a prophetic truism.

[5] Harrington, I, pp. 162–3.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

X 774 covered this, and most of the children soon forgot what had happened.
● 773 One little girl, however, grieved for her doll; it bothered her all the time,
539 and finally she began to dream of it every night. Then she told her parents of her trouble, and they realised that they should not have compelled her to throw the doll away. One night the doll appeared to the child and spoke to her, saying, 'Find me and keep me always, and you and your family will ever enjoy good health. You must give me new clothing and hold a dance for me every spring,'[6] and then told her exactly what to do. The girl reported this to her parents, who immediately looked for the doll and found it, then dressed it, made some hominy, killed a deer, and held a dance in its honor as they were instructed, and this rite has been continued to the present day."

X 796 The description which he gives of the dance corresponds in most of its details with what has been previously set down. He mentions, however, a few additional features of the procedure which do not appear in my own. In preparation for the ceremony we are told "a hunter is then selected who calls on several to help him get a deer which, when brought in, is hung on poles prepared for it at the dance ground where it remains over night. The next morning they cook the deer and a kettle of hominy, and are then ready for the ceremony."

Furthermore he adds a point or two in regard to the carrying of the dolls during the dance. "When the leader finishes his 'set,' he passes the doll pole to the man behind him, who repeats the process, and so on until the men dancers
[801] have carried it six times, when it is transferred to the women, who, in their turn, dance six sets, making twelve in all, the Lenape sacred number."

[6] My information implies that it was a fall rite.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

and corn bread required for the feast, and the first part of the day is spent in dancing to the songs that tradition has bequeathed for the rite, and as with the other feasts the ceremonial dance is terminated in an all-night session of mixed or social dances.

The corn dance is led by the two men wearing the corn husk costumes and masks. These performers take a turn at dancing, then a group of women take a turn. The women too have a pair of leaders but they wear no masks. After the social dances have been enjoyed, to which the night following is given over, the ceremony is concluded with what is called a Drunken dance. The drummers pick up and carry the drum and rattles, and lines of both sexes dance slowly in a circle around them. For this last act there are also specific songs.

So much for the objective aspects of the Corn Ceremony. As the text tells us its origin is believed to have sprung out of a famine, due evidently to some displeasure felt by the mani't·u. For some reason the corn "left" the Indians. When all the leading men had assembled to consider the matter they decided to devise some means by which the corn could be induced to come back. The result was to conceive the ceremony as we learn of it, the announcement of the occasion and the leading of the dance itself to be under the auspices of the men wearing masks of corn-husks. This origin concept reminds one strongly of the stress conditions in some ancient time that gave rise to the Big House ceremony, in the origin of which the displeasure of the world-controlling spirits is a prominent influence.

As a part of the corn complex of North America the ceremonies that received so much attention in the religious development of the Indians are to be considered in the future as an important and absorbing topic for comparative and analytical treatment.

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape.

ORIGIN OF THE CORN HARVEST CEREMONY

Lɔ'mwe we'ak'hak·ami·'k·e k't·i·'hilɔs·taohən·a·''nɑk
Long ago in beginning of the world we have heard

ki·'kagoyəmən·a·ni'ŋga təli·' lowe·ne·''yo wa'ni· xaskwi·'m
our ancient dead how they said the corn

lɔ'mwe ngat'ha'k·e. wi·xka'utci hund' ka'it·i a'ləmi·
long ago migrated went away. All of a sudden it was slowly began

xi·'hi·l·e· aha'ləwi· k'təma'k·e·lən·damowa'k·an·u. ka'heli·
to lessen more and more it grew pitiful. Many

awe·''n nunde''hal·e me'hmi·'tciŋ e·'li· lɔ'mwe nɔ'tci·
people were in need of food because long ago since

na'lowan xaskwi·'m tə'n·da ni·'kani·xi·'nɑn we·''mi·
this corn it was was leading food all

wi·'lawəs· na'wundji· me'hmawə'nsiŋg ɔk wi·yu's.
grain from that fruit and meat.

Ge'hal·a me·tci·'gai k'təma·''ksu et'
Very deplorable pitiful evidently it must have been

we·''mi· awe·''n. ə'nda me'tci· hwi·'la
all persons. When now in perplexity baffled

le·'lən·dami·''t·i·t' ki·kago'yəmən·ani'ŋga na' lo'we·n
as to what to think of to do our ancient ancestors then it was said,

"ma'ema''t·am we·''mi· awe·''ni·k a'kənutəmu't·am
"Let us gather all persons to council

tət·a a·'' e·'lacho's·ieŋg wu'ndji· kə'ski· wi·nowa'meŋg
what could we take action so that can we plead with

gahe's·ən·a təli·'tc ma't·a tci·mi·'' ngałko·''ne·n."
our mother so that will not forever leave us".

Nane'ce· wundji·'xɑn təli·' aləmi·' mani·'ha·n
That is whence the beginning that beginning the making

wani lən·a'pe yu'li·l mwe'mui·haləwes·a'. lo'we·n
the Delawares these excrement-rubbers. It is said

tcani·'lacha'wəna wa'ni· gahe's·ona nane'' wu'ndji·
we have offended this our mother that is reason

alɔ'mska·n. yu'kwe elaŋgu'ndieŋg yu'kwe ce·''
she is leaving. Now my kindred this is

ha't·e e·'lacho'sieŋg pi·pi·'li· awe·''n
how a way here we can take action first one person and another

x 796 ha'·t·e e'lowe·t' yu'ni· a· alowi·'. cuk' kwun·a'eke
539 a plan here to say "This here is better." But at last

● 773 ə'nda ki·ca'kenuta'ə·i·k lo'we·n mani·ha'wəna ni·'ca'
when it was considered in council, it was said we will make two

ɔp'skwi·' wucki'ŋgɔ ɔk nahəli·' cakhukwi·'yan ɔk
corn shucks face-masks and including coat and

kako·"nɑn we·'mi ɔp'skwi·'. yu'kwe e'nxɑn a'cəwi·
leggings all corn husks. Now each change of

ga'xtiŋg mae'hel·a·n ɔk ha't·e·tc ɔk ki·'ci·ma·n
year we will gather and there will be a plan and they will be selected

awe·'ni·k' nenu'nami"ti·t' yu'ni· la·'ke·yɔ'kan.
people who will own and control this ceremony.

Ni·ca' lə'n·owak pi·pi·'nawən· i'k·a elhala"ti·t'
Two men are chosen who shall wear

ne·'li·l mwe'həmwi·ha'ləwe·s ehalkwi·'tci· kexu'k·woni·
the excrement rubbers clothes, costume for a few days

a'pa·ma·'mehel·e·'yɔk e·li·'k'hat·iŋ. we·həma·'s·uwɑk
they go about neighborhood. They notify the people

li·' me·'tci· gici·'m'kɔt' ehel·ɑk'hi'k·wi· la·'k·e·t'
that now is arranged by rule the time for ceremony

nani·awe·'n ne·nənu·"'nɑŋg neni·' xaskwi·'mi·
by that person who controls that corn

la·k'eyɔ'k·an. ɔk ə'nda tɔ't·a awe·'n ŋgi·'skaɔt'
festival celebration. And when any one meet with

ne·'li·l mwe"həmwi·ha·ləwe's·a' e·'li· mhi't·aɔŋge's·axpu
that excrement rubber because he rides horseback

ma't·a awe·'n ke'ko mi·'lat·e kwi·la'elek' we·'mi·
no one anything gives him without a doubt all

elki·'k'·si·t' cahu'k·u mwi·' e·'li· na'ni·-
over his person will be rubbed with excrement because that

ci·'xkandj li·'xɑn.
established rule.

me·'tci· a'pa'mi·ta ə'nda kwu't·ət·sa'nd·e·k na'
Now about when one week then

mae'hel·a·n nalən·e" wani·' lən·a'pe eləwe'ldaŋg
they gather that is what the Delaware call

mwe'həmwi·haləwe's kant'ke'uhe·n. lɔ'mwe a"powak
excrement-rubber made him dance. Long ago there were

7:Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

lə'n·owak	we'ətu'xti·t'	ne"li·'l	asuwa'k·an·a	ne'n'
men	who knew	those	songs	that

hakałkɔ't·ak.	ək	a'po"'pan·i·k	pu'tcəl·ak	yu'kwe
were used.	And	used to have	ushers.[1]	Here

we"'mi·	me'hmi·'tciŋg	n'haka'łkət	cuk'	sa'p·a"n
all kinds of	food	is used	but	hominy

pi·'pe"'k·a	sa"'pai·n	na'lonen	naxpale"'tama"n	ə'nda
very thin	hominy is cooked	that is what	is raised up the prayer	when

wi·'nowa'mənd'	na'ni·	kahe"'s·əna	xa'skwi·m.	tə't·a
they are pleading	that	our mother	corn.	As long

se"ka'usi·t'	wa'ni·	elha'k·e"t'	wunɔ·'xtun.	me"'tci
as he is living	the	controller (of the ceremony)	will carry it on.	Now

ə'nda	wi·ka'usi·t'	natc'	tami·'məsəm·a	tɔ'nhuk·-
when	the end of life (died)	these	his children	handed

əma'ɔn	wu'ndji·	ekala'mi·	e'laŋgoma'tci·'
down	from that on	according	to relationship

yukwe'	me"'tci	ə'nda	aləmi·'	ma'ohiŋg
Here	now	when	beginning	the dance

a'po'wak	xkwe"'yak	ək	lə'n·owak	wi·'xani'xti·t·'.	ə'nda
there are	women	and	men	who do cooking.	When

me"'tci·	laet'pu"'kwi·k'	na'	laha'p·a	xa'n·di·n	wa'ni·
now	midnight	then	stop	they pass food to eat	the

elha'k·e"t'	ək	elaŋgo"'matci·	ək	nah·el·i·'	ne"'ki·k'
master-of-ceremony	and	his kindred	and	also	those

pu'tcelak	təli·'	xaŋge"ne"'yɔ'.	me"'tci·	e'nda	ki'ci·
ushers	for	they pass the food around.	Now	when	finished

mi·tsa"'tiŋg	na'	la'p·i·	aləma'ohi·n	e"'li·	naneli·'xan
eating	then	again	they begin dancing	because	it is rule

li·'	ə'p·an·aohi·n.
to	dance till morning.

Nace"'	wa'ni·	kikwi·awe"'n	pe"m'tu'nhe"t'	lo'we"	
There	the	old person	to do talking	says	

me"'tci·	kɔ'p·an·axi·nho'm·ən·a	ge'həl·a	wani'ci·	ə'nda	
"Now	we see daylight	very indeed	thankful	because	

[1] The same as the office of *a'cka"s*, attendant, in the Big House ceremony. The ushers belong to the same ceremonial group (Wolf, Turkey or Tortoise) as the controller or master of ceremonies. They are generally men who are not capable of taking more serious parts in the dances.

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

X 716 539 773

ne'eŋg xą'sən·a təli·' la'p·i· ɔxe·'tam·ako·'ne·n
we see our brother [the sun] because again he gives us light

we·'mi· elama·'kami·k. ɔk ci·'ki· e'nda wəla·'tena-
all over the world. And very nice when we are in good

mi·'eŋg wuni·t'pų·'kwe e'nda wi·'tauhi·'meŋg· wa'ni·
spirits all night long when we dance with that

gahe's·ənа xa'skwi·m. ɔk la'p·i· gaxti'ŋge aye'ma-
our mother corn. And again in a year if we should

pe·'tci· wəlama'ksi·e'ŋgwe pe·'tci· ma'e wimbəne·'-
come we are well arriving come to we shall

mawəna na'ni· elha'k·e·t' ɔk kwi·'tci· wi·nowe'hən·a
sympathise that master-of-ceremony and with help we beg a blessing

we'ndji·aik mehemi·'tciŋg ɔk yu'ni· lən·a'p·eyɔ'k·an
where belongs food and this Delaware soul

ɔk ənahal·e·' we·'mi· ke'ko gi·'celəmu'kuk. te'pi·
and also all things created. This will

laha'p·a wəla·'ha xa'n·e· kahe·'li· ke'ko ge·'ski·
be all for now although there is yet many things I could

a· lowe·'ya cuk' kə'təmaksi·'hənа. na'ne ci·'xkandj
to say but we are pitiful, poor. That is all

me·'tci· gaski·' ləs·i·'ne·n. yu wani'ci·.
now can do under the circumstances. Now I thank you.

Free Translation.

Long ago in the beginning of the world we have heard from our ancient deceased how they said the corn went away. All of a sudden it gradually began to lessen and things grew more and more miserable. Many people were in need of food because for a long time the corn was the principal nourishment among all the grains, fruits and even meat.

Deplorable indeed and pitiful were all the people. Whereupon in perplexity as to what might be thought of to do, it was said among our ancient ancestors, "Let us gather together all the people into council as to what can be done to plead with our mother so that she will not leave us forever." From this originated in the beginning the custom among the Delawares of the excrement-daubers. It was said, we have offended our "mother," that is the reason why she is leaving

7: Speck E-5 (1928-1932) 1937 NM7 Delaware NM7
Lenape

us. Now, kindred, this is the way in which we can take action, first one person's idea then another's saying "This one is better." But at last when it had been pondered in council it was declared that we should make two corn husk face-masks, and a coat and leggings all of cornhusks. Now at each change of the years we shall gather and carry out a way so that certain people will be selected who will own and control this ceremony. 796x 539 773

Two men are chosen who shall wear the excrement-daubers' costume, to go through the neighborhood for a few days. They notify the people that now according to the rulings is the time for the ceremony by that individual who has charge of the Corn Festival ceremony, and when anyone is encountered, as they ride about on horseback, who shall give nothing to them infallibly he shall be rubbed over with excrement because that is the established ruling. 796x 539

Now in about one week they gather together for what the Delawares call the Excrement-dauber dance. Long ago there were men who knew these songs that were required. And they used to have ushers. Here all kinds of food were used, but especially hominy made very thin; cooked hominy is what was offered with the prayer when they were pleading with our "mother" Corn. As long as he was living the controller of the ceremony would carry it out. Then when he reached the end of his life his children handed it down from then on according to relationship. [262]

Here now when the dance was beginning there were women and men who did the cooking. And now when it was midnight they would stop and pass around the food to eat, the master of the ceremony his kindred and also the ushers passing the food around. So when they had finished eating then they began dancing again, because it was the rule to dance until morning.

Then the old person appointed to do the talking would say, "Now that we see daylight we are very thankful indeed because we see our elder brother (the sun) as he again gives us light all over the world. And it is grand when we are in good spirits after dancing all night long with her who is our

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

strong faith, that the night he dreams about him,[3] he will at once the following day be able to shoot as much game and catch as much fish as ever he wants to,—the evil one, undoubtedly helps him to it.[4]

The first hunt which the savages arrange in the spring [they dedicate to the evil one]; if they then can shoot ever so many animals in their hunt they do not sell a single one of them, but make a burnt offering of it[5] to *Manitto* or the devil; then they will that year have good luck in hunting and shooting.

They do, however, know a little historically about Christ, which they consider a fable. When the old savages are to tell the Christians what passed in former times, they say that it has been told them from times immemorial by their fathers and forefathers, who have said that it was, once in former time, one of our savage women who became pregnant by going and drinking in a brook; and none of our Rennappi had had any connection with her, yet she became pregnant and gave birth to a son. And when that one became somewhat large, something like this,—he measures with his hand in the air, as he knows nothing of age or years. "Yes, that was a pólite[6] and clever

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Portuguese citizens and speak a Portuguese dialect. For *taboo*, see Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 667.

[3] The charm or fetish emblem.

[4] Lindeström believed in the powers of the Indian medicine man; but he attributed this power to influence of the Devil. Cf. Heckewelder, *Indian Nations*, 231 ff.

[5] The game obtained in the hunt. Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 402 ff., and the literature quoted there.

[6] *Artigh, polite.* Perhaps, however, Lindeström means handsome, fine, splendid. See *artigh invention*, Chapt. XVII, note 3.

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
NM7 Delaware NM7

boy," they say. "His like will never come here again. He had so much to say that it was a great wonder and [he] performed many miracles and wonders. When he now became somewhat large he departed from us and went up into the air, up there," they say, and point to heaven. "He promised to come back to us, but he never came back to us again," they say. "Sometime after him," they said, "a large-mouth with large beard,[7] like your large mouths are," they said, and likened him to our pastors. "He also had much to say for a time.[8] That one also went up there, like the other one," and the [Indians] pointed to heaven. "He promised also," they said, "to come back here to us again, but he never came." And it must surely have been one of the apostles, for the word of God is true, which can never fail us:[9] *Euntes docete omnes Gentes*, etc.[10] So far they know of Christ and his apostles and can relate it from hearsay from their fathers and forefathers.

[7] *Stoort skägg*, large beard, *i.e.*, long beard. The long, thick beard of some of the pastors made a strong impression on the Indians who had seen nothing like it before.

[8] *Han hade och mycket af munnen en tijdh*. *Lit.* he had also much of the mouth for a time.

[9] Perhaps Lindeström refers to the belief prevalent in the middle ages and later, that the apostles had visited all continents and all countries, according to the injunction quoted in Latin from the New Testament.

[10] Go and teach all people. *Cf. Mark*, XVI, 15.

[p. 210 is blank]

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

but two informants, J. W. and W. L., dissented (346). W. T. alone of the informants recalled the former practice of two braids, one forward and the other to the rear (347). He wore his own hair in two braids hanging down beside his cheeks which he said was a custom borrowed from the Caddo among whom he was living.

It is to be regretted that we do not have better estimates of the average and greatest age of the Delaware (355-56). The figures we do have for the average age are not really average length of life of the population but the usual age at which the old people died. Even more extreme than an average age of seventy to eighty years is the three hundred years given by W. T. Earlier estimates, if available, might show a counterpart of this belief. Among the Shawnee of the eighteenth century the span of life set by the creator was believed to be two hundred years. W. T. said that before the coming of the whites all Indians lived an even three centuries. One hundred and forty years was the next greatest age reported in any other account.

War and Its Incidents

The prosecution and ritual of warfare probably consumed a large portion of the time and energies of the Delaware in prehistoric times. The accounts of the first period are very vague or completely silent upon the subject. In the fourth period the occasions or the means for war were mostly gone and the information again rather incomplete. W. T. for instance said that war was introduced to the Indians by the whites and that they had no practices that were not taught them by the latter. W. L. refused to commit himself on anything pertaining to war. The two younger informants gave fairly complete accounts that in general agreed with those of the earlier periods. Where they do not agree, the explanation is more apt to be due to lack of information than because of a change in custom.

Giving notice of war to the enemy except by incursions of a war party was inconsistent with the method of warfare pursued (362, 364). The existence of large war parties was denied by all accounts and only small parties depending upon surprise for

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

IV. ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES

Astronomy, Mathematics, etc.

1.[1] Planetary system

According to Captain Pipe, the stars were put in the sky for the guidance of the Indians—the whites had the compass. According to John Johnston, the Indians believed that there were four fixed stars in the North, East, South, and West, which were rivets holding up the sky. The seven stars were once seven boys who became such wizards that they could not dwell upon the earth. 821 [791 773]

2. Origin myth

Captian Pipe—They claim to be descendants of the Wyandots, and relate these circumstances connected with their birth. The Wyandots sprang from a hole in the earth, which is still to be seen on Lake Huron. Not long after their discovery of the world above, which they now inhabit, a virgin of that nation became pregnant from some unnatural cause and in due time was delivered of twins, a son and daughter, who spoke a language entirely different from their parent; to wit, that of the present Delawares. That it was customary at that time to marry very near relatives; that these twins were so united and from this incestuous intercourse sprang the Lenee Lenaupaa, who, by direction of their uncles, the Wyandots, went to the borders of the Ocean and there settled themselves. 773 [835]

They suppose that there was formerly a body like our sun, which they call a great cornstalk with wide spreading branches, planted by "the God" in another world far above us—there, they suppose, lived a tribe of Indians, with a chief at their head—one time, one of the women who had a child was taken sick, and being asked what would cure her, she said, "If this corn stalk was pulled up, and I was laid by the hole, from hence it was taken, I should get well." The chief gave orders, and the corn

[1] Numbers refer to the numbers given to the elements in the table, *ante*, pp. 22-37.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

773 stalk was removed and the woman laid by the hole, on her back. As soon as the corn stalk was taken from its place, there was total darkness, at which the Indians were exceedingly vexed—it was then thought best to punish the woman—they accordingly cast the woman with her child into the hole—she fell through child and all and was caught by an infinite number of "big hawks"—the hawks carried her and put her on the back of a great turtle. About this time, a loon dived into the sea, brought up a piece of earth and put it under the woman, between her and the turtle—the woman commenced a career round this particle of earth, which commenced enlarging, until it became [771] the great mass of matter which we inhabit. The earth is supposed to be of an oblong form, and is movable—it often shakes, but does not perform any revolutions. The Sun which now [821] enlightens the earth, is supposed to have been sent from the world above described. The substance of which it is composed is unknown. It performs daily revolutions.

772 *3. Earth is round*

W. T. — Earth was made round just like the sun, moon, and sky.

E. R. — The earth is flat (circle?).

W. L. — The earth is a circle and flat.

805 821 *6. Names of seasons*

The names of the seasons are *sikwon*, spring; *nipen*, summer; *takŏk*,[1] autumn; and *lowen*, winter.

7. Moons or months

The terms for the months and their significance are:

January

ZEISBERGER *Anixi gischuch*—Squirrel month, ground squirrels come out of their holes

ZEISBERGER —Mouse or Squirrel month—for they come out of holes

[1] The character ŏ has the phonetic value of the open "o," pronounced as "aw" in "awk."

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

805 May *Mo'ksoats kiʔlo*—Deer getting red
821 July *Dai-, Lai-,* or *Kiči-nipen*—Middle of summer
October *Takǫkinikiʔlo*—Fall month when everyone gets together
November *Dailo-wen* or *Luwanikiʔlo*—Changing or winter moon
December *Kičilo-wen*—Winter

8 and 9. Sun and moon as deities

776 [821] John Johnston—They suppose the Sun to be a Deity composed of heat which regulates the day and returns to the East in the night under ground. Which is the cause of vegetation or makes the grass grow. The moon they suppose to be another Deity equal in rank with the sun which regulates the night and divides the year.

776 773 Captain Pipe—The Sun they suppose to be a human being, and they call him their brother. Tradition says that in early days the Sun was in the habit of devouring twelve Indian children each day at noon, as a kind of compensation for his labours; but the inhabitants of the earth becoming incensed at his voraciousness remonstrated. He then proposed to reduce the number to six but they still refused, and at length agreed upon two, which number they suppose he now receives every day. The light of the Sun is occasioned by the brightness of a feathered headdress which he wears. They think that the Indians once possessed the same general character with the Sun, that he has retained his original powers and they have degenerated to their present degraded situation. He is supposed to go under the Island at night for rest. The moon is supposed to be the brother of the Sun, and they formerly had numerous relatives who warred against each other and were all killed, and these wars occasioned the present employment of the younger brother, the moon.

776 All four of the modern informants called the sun "brother." All called the moon "brother," also, except J. W., who said it was known as grandmother, that she takes care of the weather, but is closest to the people.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
NM7 Delaware NM7

visible noticing all their actions, which he communicates to the next deity and so from one to the other until it is communicated to the Supreme being.

CAPTAIN PIPE—With the Indian (these Indians) all animals, and even animated nature, Trees, plants, etc., are considered as beings having supernatural powers. This is proved to be a serious belief by the great distinction in the language, which included trees, plants and some vegetables in the class of animated beings, and by the superstitious notions of these men, who having been prepared by excessive fatigue, long fasting and harsh treatment from parents, for some unnatural excitement of the mind, dream, or fancy that they dream of seeing their guardian god coming to them in the form of a Bear, Wolf, the Sun, the Moon, a Tree, etc., and directing them about their future conduct. Such dream no doubt has great effect during the life of its subject, and in his private worship all his songs are descriptive of some of the events which he saw in his dream. He often repeats them and does not fail to attribute his success to the deity whose wonderful appearance had foretold his good fortune, or any mishap to his own bad conduct which incensed his guardian.

23. Evil spirits

JOHN JOHNSTON—They believe in but one evil spirit which is the devil. They suppose him to have been created holy, but he being proud spirited was not willing to acknowledge the creation of all things to the supreme being but contended that he had created the bad and the dispute arose to such a degree that the devil took a disgust and plunged himself from heaven into the earth where he remains to this day and that is the reason (they say) why guilty folk always look down.

CAPTAIN PIPE—Much of their unhappiness and misfortune is attributed to the evil spirits of which there are many. They are called *Maatseetseet Maunutoowuk*, (Those who are bad Spirits) but are not distinguished by particular appellations.

CAPTAIN CHIPPS—They believe that "there is a devil, or there would not be so many wicked in the world,"—where he lives they cannot determine.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

The mask rite, says Wi·tapano'xwe, is an individual or family, not a group rite. The record of the change of hands through which it passed, going into each of the three groups at different times, brings out this act.

Since it happened that the custody of the mask fell to Delaware women as well as to men, there seems to have been no restriction as to sex in the office of keeping the masks as reported for the Iroquois. The same is true of the corn-husk masks. As among the Iroquois the Delaware wooden mask was kept face down when not in use, but only, the informant added, because the cloth covering at the back would make this position more convenient. We are impressed with the ruling that the mask could not be played with nor worn for social masquerading.

To the ethnologist, however, the significance of the Mask-Spirit is deep. The whole question of the trait which it represents in the customs of the Delawares is fraught with the possibilities of an archaic northern background, into which fits a series of beliefs and practices extending across boreal North America through northeastern Asia. The game owner concept, in short, stands forth in high relief among the far northern Algonkian. Its most intense development appears among the Montagnais-Naskapi of the Labrador peninsula.[1] For the region of the Great Lakes among the Central Algonkian we have as yet no records to substantiate the existence of the Game Owner concept so far south. The Delaware case is accordingly one of noteworthy bearing. Before passing by what Delaware belief has to contribute to the Game Owner concept in general the information pertaining to the mask spirits to be given in a text reserved for the later publication should be considered.[2] Here an account is recorded in which masks made of corn-husks are worn by messengers who go about announcing the occasion of a corn ceremony. The personification of the spirit of corn seems intended in the wearing of such a mask.

THE TORTOISE AS A SYMBOL.—Outlined in particularly high relief is the tortoise. In the latter creature we have the symbol of life, of perseverence, longevity and steadfastness. As the Delaware patriarch says, "The tortoise is the earth; is life." In the procession of time and among the elemental nature forces the direction of movement is from east to west, according to Delaware belief. So moves the tortoise with measured pace across the earth and through the Big House, carrying out the mythical allegory. At the end of his journey at the "western door," meaning where the sun sets at the edge of the

[1] Extended treatment of the religious beliefs and philosophy of the northern peoples, so far as the Game Owner concept is concerned, will be available for the students of religious customs of pre-literate peoples when manuscript now in course of preparation shall have been published.

[2] To form another volume of this series.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

earth, the world will come to an end as does the ceremony after the twelfth night. Thus the tortoise "brings the ceremony." His shell in the form of the rattle[1] is carried in the hands of the participants who take the part of leaders in the recitations and dances and move in the proper westward direction in the Big House. The saying is, as the ceremony is opened, and again after the intervals of pause, "The Tortoise is bringing us the worship and we are now ready to touch it again."

The tortoise, moreover, is "he who carries our mother's body"—the latter being a metaphor for the earth. The tortoise being a "grandfather" thus becomes more ancient than the earth. The prominence of this mysterious creature in Delaware religious belief has long been noted by writers dealing with the tribe.[2]

As early as 1670 the Delawares are recorded as declaring that all things came from the tortoise, that it brought forth the world, that from its back a tree had sprung upon whose branches men had grown, that it had a power and a nature to produce all things such as earth, and the like; that it brought forth what the supreme divinity wished through it to produce.[3]

[1] As early as 1794 the turtle-shell rattles are mentioned by G. H. Loskiel, History of the Missions of the United Brethren; and Ziesberger before him, 1779 (op. cit., p. 89).

[2] The tortoise was regarded in China as a sacred animal imbued with a knowledge of the future. Concerning hunting as well as crop prospects and rainfall the tortoise shell oracle was consulted. (B. Laufer, Scientific Monthly, Vol. XXV, p. 253, (1927). Rather strangely the intervening area between these occurrences does not show forth prominence of the tortoise in religious thought.

[3] This cosmological tale, valuable for its early date and more complete form than we expect from the 17th century writers, is given by Dankers and Sluyter, dated Oct. 16, 1680. (Journal of a Voyage to New York in 1679-80, p. 268) (Translated in vol. 1), Transactions of the Long Island Historical Society, Brooklyn, also Mem. Long Island Hist. Soc., vol. i, 1875, 1867, quoted by Brinton I, p. 133, and A. B. Skinner, the Lenape Indians of Staten Island, Anth. (Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., N. Y. vol. iii, (1909), p. 53). It seems worth quoting in full:

"16 Oct., 1679. In the morning there came an Indian to our house, a man about 80 years of age, whom our people call Jasper, who lived at Ahakinsack (Hackensack) at Akinon. We asked him where he believed he came from. He answered from his father. "And where did your father come from?" we said, "and your grandfather and great-grandfather, and so to the first of the race?" He was silent for a little while, either as if unable to climb up at once so high with his thoughts, or to express them without help, and then took a piece of coal out of the fire where he sat and began to write upon the floor. He first drew a circle, a little oval, to which he made four paws or feet, a head and a tail. 'This,' said he, 'is a tortoise lying in the water around it,' and he moved his hand round the figure, continuing, 'this was or is all water, and so at first was the world or the earth, when the tortoise gradually raised its round back up high, and the water ran off it, and then the earth became dry.' He then took a little straw and placed it on end in the middle of the figure, and proceeded, 'the earth was now dry, and there grew a tree in the middle of the earth, and the root of this tree sent forth a sprout beside it, and there grew upon it a man, who was the first male. This man was there alone, and would have remained alone but the tree bent over its top and touched the earth and there shot therein another root, from which came forth another sprout, and there grew upon it the woman, and from these two are all men produced."

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

825 T73 Zeisberger mentions the world-flood myth in which it is related that some human survivors took refuge on the back of a turtle whose age was so great that his shell was mossy.[1] And the turtle represents the earth. His rounded back is to the Delawares the earth dome.

825 T78 [302] Another indication of a belief in the latent potency of the magical powers of this remarkable creature is met with in the esteem paid to the yellow color-pattern on the upper shell of the animal. Face paint patterns of a dignity appropriate to the men taking part in the Big House ceremony are copied from these markings.[2] The men wearing these patterns are adopting the symbol of the creature who "carries our mother's body."

The creature that typifies the earth-bearer, designated as taxko'xk[4] in Delaware, and whose symbol exists in the form of the shell-rattle, is the Box Turtle (Cistudo Carolina). This reptile is by the rulings of precise taxonymy not a tortoise but a connecting link between the aquatic turtles, or terrapins, and the terrestrial forms, the true tortoises. For the Box Turtles, of the genus Cistudo, deriving their name from the well known structure of the hinged plastron which permits the animal to withdraw the soft parts of its body completely within the protective cover of the shell, have partially webbed feet, which places them nearer to the Turtles than to the Tortoises. Yet to distinguish the reptile of Delaware tradition from the semi-aquatic American turtles, I have adhered to the designation of tortoise in the text and discussion.[3]

Perhaps certain remarks offered by the informant will, in con-

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[1] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 131. See also E. deSchweinitz, Life and Times of David Zeisberger, pp. 218-19. Also Heckewelder, pp. 250, 308.

Later authors have pointed out the prominence of the tortoise as a symbol of the earth, not only in Delaware cosmology (Brinton I, p. 135) but in other Algonkian mythologies of the central and eastern areas as well.

[2] Considerable variation in the amount of yellow and in the outline of the patterns is observable in the markings of individual specimens of this genus of turtles.

[3] Of the five North American species of Cistudo, *Cistudo Carolina*, the eastern Box Turtle, the original race of Delaware tradition, and the Painted-Box Turtle (*c. ornata*), of the central region, were and are denoted as the proper forms. Possibly the Three-toed Box Turtle (*C. triunguis*) of the South Central states, may have been utilized by the tribe later in the west. The following are the names and identities of turtles mentioned by the informant:
sos-ap'l-p'konas-t' mskske'xkl ta'xkoxk' "spotted back prairie turtle," Box Tortoise (Cistudo (sp)).
c'ingge'k-l ta'xkoxk' "timber turtle," (a large yellow tortoise). This can be used for the "coarse" rattle carried by the "second dancer" or follower."
pombu't-l-s, "stinking turtle" (Aromochelys odoratus, or Cinosternum Pennsylvanicum). Of no importance ceremonially.
pi'sslatog'lha, "wrinkled breast," Soft-shelled turtle. (Trionyx spinifer). These are eaten, but are of no ceremonial importance.
co'xslatow'lha "smooth breast," any water terrapin of genus Chrysemys. Snapping-turtle (Chelydra serpentina). Its shell is used only in the Mask ceremony and in Brush-arbor ceremony. The Delawares are cognizant of the Iroquois' use of the snapping turtle and of their own preference for the Box Tortoise in making rattles for dancing. The term taxko'xk denotes that the animal's shell is "fused together." An obsolete term for turtle is to'lpe.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

I

ORIGIN OF THE CEREMONY AND FORMAL PREPARATIONS

537X
173

First of all, whence the beginning of this Big House? It was long ago in the beginning, that worship which is known to the Delawares as Gamwing.[1] It was when there was a period of quaking of the earth throughout where the Delawares inhabited. And even all the animals were frightened, so much that creatures could do nothing because so greatly was the earth shaking. And for great distances came crevices in the earth. Everyone was in great disturbance of mind. And so when such huge gaps appeared, even of unknown depth extending here into the world below, it produced to the utmost, great disturbance of mind. Even the animals were so terrified, it is said, that those animals prayed. And accordingly, it is said, all the creatures came into council to consider about a possible way to proceed so that we might please that Pure[2] Spirit, even the Creator.

[1] Mention of this term as the proper name of the ceremony has been previously made.

[2] For discussion see page 50. pi·itak, "clean" is used to refer to the meat of a wild animal, which, since it is to the Delaware possessed of a spiritual nature, is religiously clean; pi·lsi·t, "clean, pure, undefiled," embodies the entire concept of purity.

Now at the time when the earth quaked, so it is said, a great cracking, rumbling noise arose here from down in the ground below. And there came rising dust and smoke, while here and there came rising something sticky, looking like tar[1], a black fluid. That substance overflowed down into the earth. That was when the great gaps opened in the ground, here where we dwell upon our mother's body.

So even it was not known what purpose was intended for the black fluid substance blown forth from below. There the earth lay gaping open and when the dust and smoke were seen, it was said to be the breath of the Evil Spirit.

[1] *mal'·sci·*, sticky substance," (cp. Shawnee meaning, "sugar"). The narrator added, "The Indians of today do not know what that fluid was. They liken it to the flowing of oil from the newly discovered oil fields."

And then when the men were called together, it was said that the Delawares ought to pray, for it would seem that the Great Spirit was very seriously angry with them. That is why he frightened us. One after another, certain ones arose saying, "This, behold, is my dream,

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

"This, behold, is my dreams
and I can thus explain it and sing it in every way just as I saw it."[1] 539 X
And now, it was said, first of all there must be a house built. And 773 ●
also to be planned how that house should look both as to its inside 346
dimensions and height. And also, it was said what would be the size of the door here to be at the direction of the setting sun[2] and at the direction of the sunrise. And there will be jointed sections of the logs, and three posts used at the sides. And two will be on each side of the door reaching to the height of the top of the roof. And in the middle shall be the big post. And it shall be as high as the height of the house. And all posts shall be notched on top. And these at the side where the logs join shall stand as stud-posts facing each other, there held together at the top using short cross-ties.[3] And there shall be on top a larger timber cross-piece. And the ridge rafters in two pieces in the center where they join shall be more than a person's height, there from the beginning of the roof-pitch. And shall be made of various woods. And also the rafters and flat boards shall be used with the bark on, likewise in the roofing.

[1] The Big House, as we learn here, was conceived in a dream-vision revealed to certain persons by the Great Spirit. The recitation of experiences, obtained while in a dream state or in a disturbed emotional condition, has ever continued to form the key note of the ceremony so founded. [787]
[2] The present Big House on Little Caney River, Oklahoma, is set north and south, evidently so placed by mistake, due to the position of the river.
[3] The notched binders fitted into notches of the posts to lock them.

And at both sides where sets the center post, there also shall be built [284]
the fires. Right there opposite and above them, an uncovered place shall be left in the roof. And that will be to force out the smoke. And on all the posts at about a person's height there shall be carved the [778]
mask-image face,[1] and also half the face painted red and the other side blackened.

And around the sides where the people sit, there shall be put dried 539 X
grass. And three men and three women chosen, one shall be of the 773
Pole" group, and of the Pukowa'ŋgo, and of the Tu'k"si't. Their 796
service shall be to labor as long as the Gamwing, it was said, ten and two days[2] praying. All this time they furnish sufficient well-dried wood. It shall be, for those women, obligatory that they grind up corn and cook meat. And the Attendants all together feed in the house. And they pay them one shoulder-length[3] of wampum every time they furnish food. And it is the rule that the people shall use wampum when purchasing food from the Attendants. There everyone who recites visions in the House will eat there with his family three times each day.

[1] These are the sculptured personifications of the spirit-forces.
[2] For the discussion of this archaic style of enumeration in the ceremony see page 62.
[3] Measured from the shoulder point to the tip of finger of the extended arm.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

No iron or nail is used when building the House, and no wooden floor. It has a dirt floor inside the House. Deerhide is used when the drum is tied together and two drum-sticks are cut forked. And small faces are carved on one side, alike in appearance. Another different pair of sticks are made plain and these are used when the cranes[1] are singing. And a wooden bowl is made ready when they mix up the tobacco and kinnickinnick[2]. Another different wooden bowl is provided when they carry the red paint and puccoon[3] and also there they put cedar.

And ten and two sticks are made, called "means of earnest prayer." And some are marked with spots. Whoever wishes to sing in company shall also use this when helping to lift up the prayer, it is said, with concentration of spiritual force far above to the ten and two sky-levels where dwells the Creator.

And now this Big House when first built, they say of it, was the one great prayer-creed, that this carved post in the middle of the House, standing there reaches to the above through as many as ten and two strata. And the strata of sky light are as high as that post, it is said, this being the fastener. That is the Creator's staff. From that very staff, branch off all prayer-creeds of the red-people given to them, whence come all other prayer-creeds of the world.

[1] Meaning the drummers. There being two drummers, one of them sings in a tone which the other repeats immediately after him, in imitation of the manner in which wild cranes cry when flying in response to the call of their leader. The result in tone is similar to an echo. The crane is the Sand-hill crane (Grus Mexicana), daleka'ok, (plural) whence the drummers derive their sobriquet. ni'kanasos "the leader" is the singer who takes the leading part in the song; the other singer is oxteggi'xsos "after-time." See page 57.

[2] See footnote 6, page 127.

[3] See page 71.

[4] mas'mendahi'k-an. This denotes prayer-sticks used in serious address to the Great Spirit. mas'mendawa'mal "I beg the Great Spirit to do my bidding." Specimens of the plain and decorated prayer-sticks made by the informant are shown (fig. 24).

The bearers of the twelve prayer-sticks give all their spiritual-force to lift the prayer being given by the speaker or the singers to the highest, or twelfth heaven,—the instrumental symbol of raising the word.

And there was given to the Delawares something which is used when they make fire. It is called "ringing noise-instrument"[1]. Whomever they chose as fire-maker, any of the Attendants, was of moral habits or spiritually clean, for that one shall drill for fire in the House. Sometimes flint is used when they make fire in the House and pith is used when they make fire with flint.

Now therefore in the beginning the Delawares came to be blessed with religion together with the Munsee; so the prayer worship proceeds for ten and two days. Now that very log-house itself is called Big House. Right here toward the dawn-direction and sun-set direc-

[1] See page 69.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

tion it lies extended. And the doors are opposite each other. Right here in the direction of the sun-set, it is the rule that the Bringer-in come, bringing the ceremony into the House.

Everything was provided for the Delawares in the Gamwing. There was also wampum supplied by rule, it is said. Each person gives one shoulder-length for helping to prepare this food and also for when they pay the Attendants. And, so it is said, the Attendant is pleasing to him our father the Great Spirit, even the Creator.

When the workers[1] purify everything,[2] these women with the Attendants, it can not be conceived how sacredly valuable those labors are. It has been destined for the Delaware that that very wampum he uses becomes his heart. And moreover when purchasing food, or when anything of value is bought, he employs wampum. And then a quantity is gathered. Here at the left side of the House where the Bringer-in sits, at a certain height above the ground, there a white cloth is hung along the wall. There is suspended all the wampum, as much as has been gathered together each day over again.[3]

[1] The word means "to labor" in the sense of doing something for oneself. Corresponding to the term alo'ke (Penobscot, Wabanaki) meaning "work," the Delaware denotes working for someone else by naloka'tke "I am hired by someone to work."

[2] The clean, pure character of the Attendants or "workers" diffuses spiritual purity over all those attending the ceremony inside the Big House and strengthens them for the ensuing year.

[3] The supply of wampum is renewed each day by those who through spiritual impulses contribute their treasure. They are blessed in proportion. It should be noted that no one is allowed to sell anything at the festival except the Attendants. Outside on the grounds at a distance from the Big House refreshments can be sold for money. But inside the Big House wampum must be used for exchange. In the present ceremonial transactions between the Attendants and the worshippers two or three beads pass for five cents. Some thirty or more years ago, however, when wampum was more plentiful it passed at one bead for a cent.

And it was said, long ago in the beginning at the Gamwing, inside the Big House, they built a great sweat-house. They heated rock and put it inside that sweat-house. There the shamans[1] crawled in. And water was used here for pouring upon the rocks. That was called testing with heat. Everyone going in there and staying for any length of time was said to be a great man. Some person would be exhausted in a little while for which reason they took him out. Those enduring it for a considerable length of time, those are the great men.[2]

[1] There were two classes of shamans. Some had healing power and are called nenpi'kees "sweating doctor." The men who recite their visions in the Big House are also mete'lnu in the Delaware classification, their description being kaci'las-u wehendji'k-an'yo "great men who perform in a single file [like the vertebral articulation of men and animals]." See page 54.

[2] Amounting to a title denoting "prophet, reciter of vision, healer, priest all in one.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

Great Star.[1] Again seven stars, it is said, are sometimes at the noon-point[2] seen after dark. Those stars called the Bear;[3] also the head of this one is separate. Now it is said that whenever that Bear shall catch up with his head, then will be the end of the world.[4] And again another group is called Bunched-up,[5] seven is their number. And again here in the direction of sun-down, that evening-star is called kwe'tci-'pon-e'a.[6] Thenceforth are other stars and moons. And there are also these Thunders, our grandfathers, even coming to those clouds, all called spirit-forces. And the sun, our elder brother, is considered a leading spirit-force up above, because he is a great person. By his breath he warms all the universe, and it is he also who lights up the day-time, and the night-sun. It is he who lights up the night-time. And those stars, in accordance with the strength given them, in proportion that serve and aid our father's, the Great Spirit's labors.

[1] ma'xalangw, "Great Star," a variant is ma'xkalangw, "red star."

[2] Meaning at the zenith, regarded in Delaware sky-lore as the point half-way between the earth and the summit of the sky dome, as nearly as can be ascertained.

[3] The constellation Ursus Major has among the Iroquois, the Cherokee, and also the Algonkian south of the St. Lawrence, the same interpretation, as representing the celestial Bear. North of this dividing line of culture, however, the figure is changed to that of the Fisher (Mustela pennanti) or Marten. The explanatory myths are of an entirely different nature in the two areas. The tale in the northern area seems to have a circumpolar distribution in North America from the Athapaskans through the Cree to the Montagnais-Naskapi of the Labrador peninsula, while the Bear legend of explanation traces to the southward. I have given some attention to this myth in a study of Penobscot tradition. (See also S. Hagar, Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore, vol. XIII, No. 49, p. 92; D. G. Brinton, Myths of the New World, Phila., 1896). (See previous discussion of star beliefs, p. 48).

[4] This vision of a celestial catastrophe reminds us again of the Delaware belief that when the Tortoise in his westward journey reaches the edge of the earth the world will come to an end.

[5] The word in the text is asi'-s-k-wtaya'-s-ak, corresponding to Zeisberger's anschiskatawewak which he calls firebrands laid together (op. cit. p. 148). His editor suggests Cassiopeia.

[6] Unfortunately the informant was unable to give a translation for this term.

And so this is what the Delawares understand; namely that some spirit-forces are able to control everything whatsoever, and some are created with less strength. Therefore when a person acquires the strength of a vision of some object or living being, he will obtain it in accordance with the strength imbued in the spiritual power which gives it to him.[1]

And now of the several kinds of spirits when they are spoken of, the tortoise is said to be a powerful being because he is able to bear up this our mother's body. That is why it is said he slowly moves, walking

[1] This difficult passage is an example of the resourcefulness of the Delaware language. Two verbs, carry the much involved dominant ideas, pa>'tang ne<'xpe<lomu'kuk. The former contains the stem pao, universal in Algonkian, as denoting magical functioning (See Speck, Penobscot Shamanism. Mem. Anth. Assn., Vol. VI, No. 3, 1920, pp. 249-54) pa>'lax being the Delaware for "fetish or charm," a spiritual agency; the second implies the meaning to be "born with power." Lindeström (1654-6) (op. cit. 207) discusses the term which he renders päähra.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

deliberately, because he carries the whole earth. And he starts out, beginning walking from the direction of sunrise. It is said that when he arrives at the edge of the earth, it will seem like but a short time, namely, for instance we may say like one eye-wink.[1] But because of his slowness of movement afoot; that is why it seems so long before he shall have traversed this world. For, whenever they see him in the wilderness he is going toward the direction of sun-set.[2] And now it shall be, when he has completed his road, then shall come to end this earth.

[1] Meaning that to man's sense of time it seems like a long epoch, but in reality it forms but an instant when the tortoise shall have performed the journey imposed upon him by the Great Spirit. This is quite an unexpected philosophical allusion to the classical problem of relativity in time.

[2] The Delawares entertain the notion that all the tortoises seen in the woods are, unless their movements have been temporarily disturbed, headed westward in their journey across the continent imposed upon their race until the day of doom. Here is something for the naturalist to disprove!

Some persons when endowed with shaman power, it is said, can use it against anyone when they are angry. And that is the cause of some persons' disability[1] or the cause of persons going blind. And he may even decide that he can kill with it. And that is called evil conjuring.[2]

Now the non-beneficent spirit-force has shaman power wherefore a person can employ that Spiritual force for evil purpose. For, it is said by tradition, evil things belong to the Evil Spirit,[3] the cat, panther, or long-tail[4] and the snake, and also the lizard[5] and in-

[1] Literally ɔktcakə'l-an, "crooked leg," in this case meaning rheumatism or other forms of lameness.

[2] The non-benevolent practice of conjuring; witchcraft or black-magic which is as much condemned by the natives as by the mediaeval Europeans. Algonkian shamanistic accounts are fraught with both phases of the practice. So baneful is the recitation even of this information that Wi·tapano'xwe insisted it be kept out of the main body of the text.

[3] maxta'ntu·, "Evil Spirit" has its closest analogy in Wabanaki, madaba'n-do, the term being mentioned by Father Rasles (1723) in his manuscript dictionary of Abenaki.

[4] The eastern panther (Felis cougar) only recently considered to be extinct in the Pennsylvania mountains, is known in Delaware by the peculiarity of its length of tail kwe·'mi·ckwu'n-ayas "long tail." The same descriptive term is applied to the animal by the Wabanaki (pi·ɔta'lu, "long tail"). An interesting mention of panther hunting in Pennsylvania, but erroneously illustrated, is given by Alexander Wilson, the ornithologist in "The Foresters," published in his Portfolio 1812.

[5] This is a very old term referring to a legendary monster of lizard form, living in trees, running so swiftly as to overtake a man with ease. In early times a portion of its tail was secured by some means, it is related, and kept in possession by some malicious conjurors to work evil to mankind. A portion of the dried tail was scraped and put into the food of the intended victim causing him to die slowly by a wasting malady. The term is most interesting philologically, a variant in Brinton's Lenape Dictionary (p. 38) gegachxs (ch = x), evidently a Munsee cognate, in Nanticoke, oh'kaush-klas, (Speck, The Nanticoke and Conoy Indians, p. 62) and occurring in Wabanaki (Penobscot) as akada'lak', denoting the salamander in lieu of the lizard which does not occur so far north. A corruption of the word in Penobscot becomes a woman's cry of surprise and fear. The word is evidently a very ancient reptilian designation. I had occasion to observe the application of this word to the

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

NOTE II

THE MYTH OF RED CEDAR AND THE SEVEN STARS

539X 121 [776]

Reference to the stars and to the cedar tree as spirit-forces in the course of the text seems to call for the insertion of the following narrative in the study. It was dictated by Wi·tapano'xwe in explanation of that part of the ceremony in which cedar was given to the fires in the Big House as spiritual 'food.'

RED CEDAR A SACRED TREE

539X 824 [757 783]

Now I am explaining what is the purpose of him our Grandfather Cedar,[1] how in many different ways it is used. When a person has a swelling in his feet or his legs it is good medicine as a steam bath for one to reduce swelling. And when after a recent death anywhere that cedar is used for purifying the house.

And when the Delawares worship in the Big House cedar is always used for purifying the Big House. And that night when the time arrives for its use it is said to be a purification-agency and also all the red men who understand this Medicine-eating[2] know that the cedar is used. Although two other different kinds are used as well for purification when this Medicine-eating is going on.

[776 757]

But that cedar is the leading spirit-force that is given for strength for anyone's healing, when inhaling the smoke. Because that very thing is the purpose intended in treating and healing his grandchild when he begs it of him.

539X 773

A very long time ago in the life of the Delawares we have heard our deceased ancestors how they said, in ancient times when there were living men of great spiritual power; seven of them, it was said, all at once were not seen any more. They had gone those prophets, men departed. But young pure youths[3] blessed with a vision of something all at once while walking about along the ridge among rocky cliffs—all at once a thing upright there, seven stones almost alike. And then it was said that all at once the youth was thence spoken to by one of these stones. Then they came to be known.[4] And more and more

[1] The specific native term for cedar is a derivative of "popping."

[2] This is the proper designation in Delaware for the Peyote ceremony; "Medicine-eating" referring to the eating of the Peyote bean (Lophophora).

[3] One need hardly be reminded that these are the young men ignorant of the ways of the world, of sin and carnality, brought up under the tutelage of solicitous parents, observant of the religious rules and guided in their conduct of life by the spirit-forces which appeared to them; the life ideals of the Delawares.

[4] Indicating that these prophets to escape the importunities of people seeking help from them had concealed their identity by transforming themselves into rock among the mountains.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
NM7 Delaware NM7

widely persons constantly went there because those prophet men were there. All of a sudden when several had gone there to the place where they were, no person was seen there. But again after a very long time some one found them. Here were these seven beautiful appearing pine trees. And some of the individuals appeared as cedars in outward appearance. This very thing there shows evidence that they are closely related, the cedar and the pine, although in a different way gifted with the power of spiritual force when created by the Creator. However, they were placed together as one since both are conjurors.

And there is more than one way otherwise to use the cedar, for the purpose of coloring.

Again they notice that those prophet-men had become trees. Again they went away and it was a very long time afterward before they found them again. As soon as they were known here these had formed in a group up above in the middle of the sky as seven stars[1] and they are called, when they are seen, as though they were great persons, for which reason from then on until now they never stay in one place during the year. That is what was said by our ancestors from whom it was rightly known that the cedar was of medicinal purpose.

[1] The Pleiades.

15:Morgan E-5 (1858)1959
NM7 Delaware NM7

[p 52(1)]

535 *Dances of the Delawares*

1. Old Religious Dance
2. Wolf Dance
3. Turtle Dance
4. Chicken Dance
5. Buffalo Dance
6. Bear Dance
7. Doll Baby Dance
8. Horse Dance
9. False Face Dance
10. Dog Dance
11. War Dance
12. Feasting Dance
13. Dance for the Dead
14. Striking the Stick Dance
15. Buzzard Dance
16. Turkey Dance
17. Duck Dance
18. [left blank]
19. Shuffle Dance

● 773 829 *Origin of the Three Varieties of the Human Race*

Mr. Pratt mentioned to me a Delaware explanation of the creation of the Negro, Indian and White man, to the effect that the Negro was created first, and was, as we say, a mistake or failure; it was the first attempt at man's creation. The Great Spirit next created the Indian, who was admitted to be a great improvement upon the negro; and last of all he created the white man.

The Good Spirit and the Boil

776 753 Mr. Pratt had a boil come on his arm. A Delaware told him he had a good friend, and in explanation said to him that the Evil Spirit had intended to destroy him; that he was followed in his rounds to do mischief to men by a small but good spirit, who continued in various ways to defeat the evil spirit of his purpose, when it was a case in which he wished to save the person from harm. That as the evil spirit was about to put forth his power upon him, the little spirit stepped forward and said to the evil one, "you let me deal with this person," whereupon he took or drew on his invisible bow a small and invisible arrow, and shot

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
NM7 Delaware NM7

[53(A)]

622 tain Ketchum, and of the Turtle Tribe. His
[611] name was Ta-ta-ne-sha. Here we have a practical illustration of descent in the female line, as with the Iroquois. She says each of the three tribes have one hereditary chief, called the Head Chief; that this chief never goes out to war, but stays at home while the Braves go out to fight.

648 The Delawares call the Senecas Mingwa-o, hence I think the historical word Mingoes,[85] a name for the Iroquois. The Delawares call the Iroquois and Wyandottes nephews, and thus assume the name
[186] of uncles, which is a way to express their seniority as well as original superiority.

553 I inquired of her about the family names, and was again put at fault. She says the father and mother can name their children as they please; that they ask some one for a list of old names of persons dead, and choose such ones as they like. She thought the names of the three tribes were kept dis-
[614] tinct, and then that they were used by these tribes indiscriminately. She said her husband named her children, and gave them all Turtle names, which was his tribe, then followed this up by stating that she did not know as it made any difference, that all used the same names. She referred to the
[171] Seneca practice of making a feast when a child was named, but said the Delawares did not do that way.

Winter

773 Mr. Pratt mentioned a Delaware tradition
821 about the origin of cold and heat and the change of the seasons as follows. In ancient times a married pair fell into disagreement. They lived in the far north region of cold. The wife, finding it impossible to live with her husband, or in resentment for some injury, travelled into the far south, into the region of heat. The husband became weary

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
NM7 Delaware NM7

[p53(B)]

773 and lonely in her absence, started to make
821 her a visit. As he travelled southward he carried the cold with him and wherever he went it became winter, or rather winter followed his footsteps. After he had concluded his visit he returned and carried back the winter with him as he advanced to the north. From the most ancient times this visit has been annually renewed.

Indian Persistency

157 Mr. Pratt mentioned as a recent occurrence
224 among the Delawares, that while a party
521 were out on a Buffalo hunt a few years since, one of them said one day that before he returned he would take a three year old bull buffalo alive. His companions rather laughed at his suggestion as an impossibility, and thought no more about it. This is the age when they are the most ferocious and unmanageable. A few days afterwards this hunter rode up to a herd of buffalo and having singled out a two or three year old bull, he managed to detach him from the

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John Gill Pratt was a dedicated Baptist missionary, working in turn with the Shawnees, the Stockbridge, and finally the Delawares. Morgan regarded him highly.

[p 56 (A)]

776 about the coming crop. When she rises with her hair combed smooth and shining, and is seen in this condition, it is a favorable omen and indicates an abundant crop. When she rises with her hair uncombed and loose, it indicates a bad crop, or a failure of the harvest.

6. Wa-ma-take-a-nese, the Boy Spirit. He is represented as a little boy, with a bow and arrow, and as a constant friend of the Indian. He is everywhere and always at hand in the most impossible places, ready to assist us in our trials and troubles. He is a servant of the Great Spirit.

776 772 7. Ma-mun-da-ase, the Spirit of War. He [824] is represented as having the form of a panther, with a very long tail. He can foretell [821] war about to arise, who will fight, and who succeed. The meteoric stones are dropped by him, and the war will arise in the direction from which the meteor comes, and go in the direction it goes. He is under the control of the Great Spirit, as are all good spirits.

776 The Great Spirit has the form of a man
● 773 (name elsewhere). The Evil Spirit has the form of a man with one leg, the leg of an ox. The tradition is that the Evil Spirit was created by the good and was himself originally good, but he originated a contention among the inferior spirits which resulted in a division and taking of sides. In the midst of this contention they all came into the presence of the Great Spirit, who seized the Evil One and as a mark of his disapprobation and as a punishment, he wrenched off one of his legs and placed in the room of it that of an ox, that he might ever afterwards be known and recognized at once as an evil spirit, and then sent him down to the earth with the evil spirits who followed him.

775 Heaven they consider to be immediately over their heads and a place in which they